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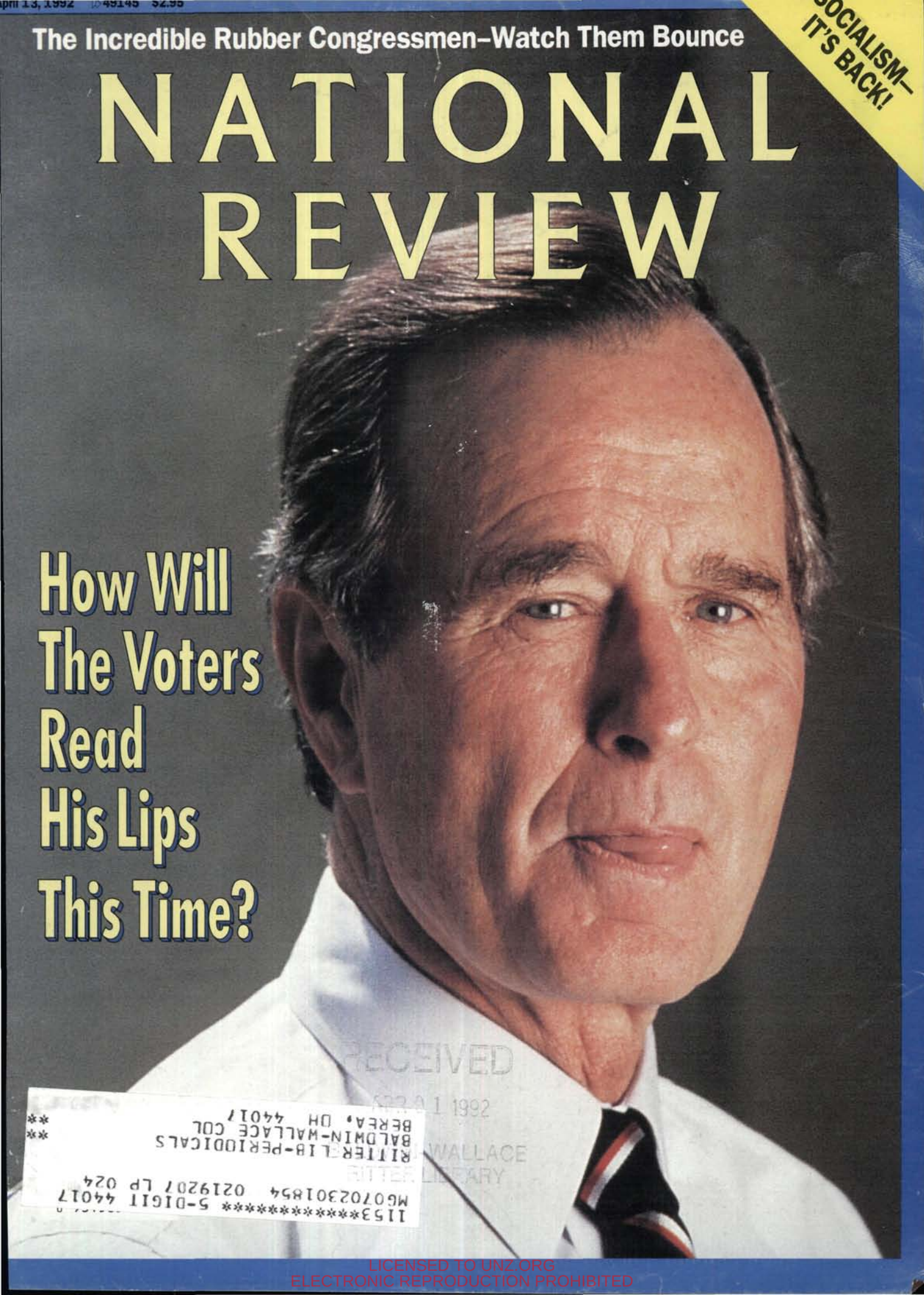

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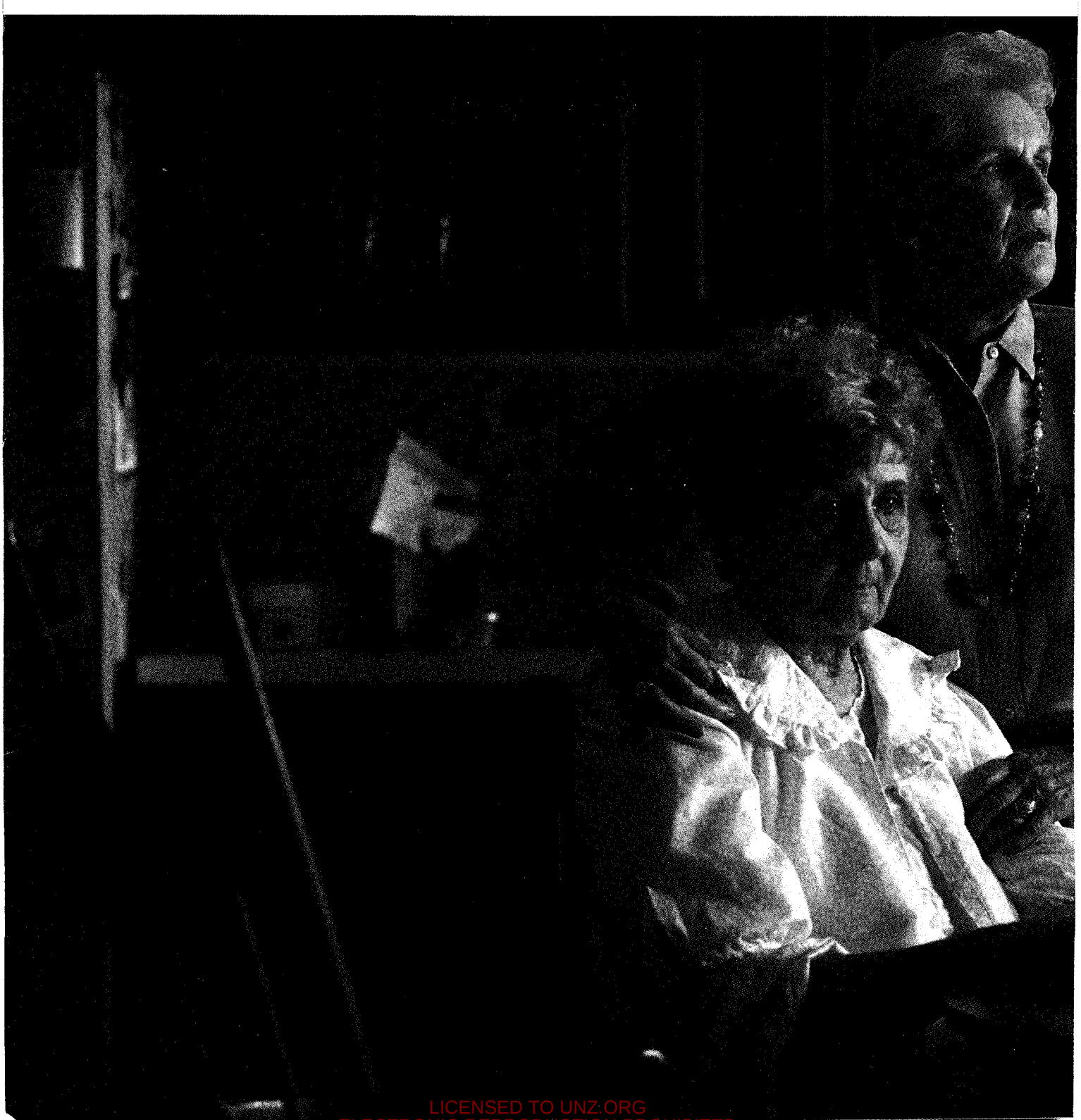

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NATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL 13, 1992 VOL. XLIV, NO. 7

Cover Story

38 ***How Bush Can Still Win***
Should the campaign theme be Saddam Hussein, the House Bank, or Gennifer Flowers? **Edward J. Rollins**, manager of the 1984 Reagan landslide, tells the President how to win not just the election, but the electorate.

Articles

21 ***On the Scene***
Does Rubbergate mean we can finally clean up Congress? That, sighs **William McGurn**, depends on George Bush. . . . Whites have endorsed apartheid's end, but **Peter Taylor** finds South Africa's future still cloudy. . . . As they face their elections, British conservatives are even more unhappy than Americans, notes **Anthony Lejeune**. . . . In the Illinois/Michigan campaign, **John R. Coyne Jr.** reports, Pat Buchanan skipped his namesake's parade, Paul Tsongas skipped right out of the race, and incumbents' fortunes were as various as the incumbents.

30 ***Socialism by Any Other Name***
Has revolutionary modernism finally given up the ghost? **David Horowitz** shows that the Left on principle despises America's liberal good nature. . . . The utopian temptation, **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** demonstrates, is rooted in human nature and the liberal polity.

41 ***Shock Treatment***
Losing the loan guarantees may actually be in Israel's best interest, argues **Joel Bainerman**, for U.S. aid simply feeds socialist policies.

43 ***Time for Term Limits***
Why regulate politics when we leave the market alone? **Alan Reynolds** points out that government is a case of market failure.

44 ***Eastern Reproaches***
Nora Beloff observes that redrawing the map of the Balkans never fails to fail.

Books, Arts & Manners

46 Richard Nixon's *Seize the Moment*—the right book on the right issue at the right time—demonstrates to **John O'Sullivan**'s satisfaction that even a retired prince has a few things to teach Machiavelli. . . . In the classic *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, Adolf A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means noted the increasing irrationality of corporate America; **James B. Burnham**, who claims that their cure has exacerbated the problem, presents Michael T. Jacobs's *Short-Term America* as evidence. . . . James Turner Johnson and George Weigel weigh the ends and means of last year's conflict in *Just War and the Gulf War*; **William McGurn** wonders why our religious leaders were so ignorant of moral nuance at the time. . . . **Henry Mitchell** finds *The Art of Persuasion*, by Linda Bridges and William F. Rickenbacker, a delightful guide to stronger prose. . . . **Taki** doesn't just spread gossip, he steals it—but at least he shares. . . . *Voyager* and *Howard's End* prove **John Simon**'s rule: that great novels make terrible films.

64 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***
George Bush reminds **Florence King** of her favorite Czar: the wacky Alexander I.

Sections

4 ***Letters***
6 ***From the Editor***
8 ***For the Record***
10 ***The Week***
28 help
52 ***Right Books***
57 ***Books in Brief***
59 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***

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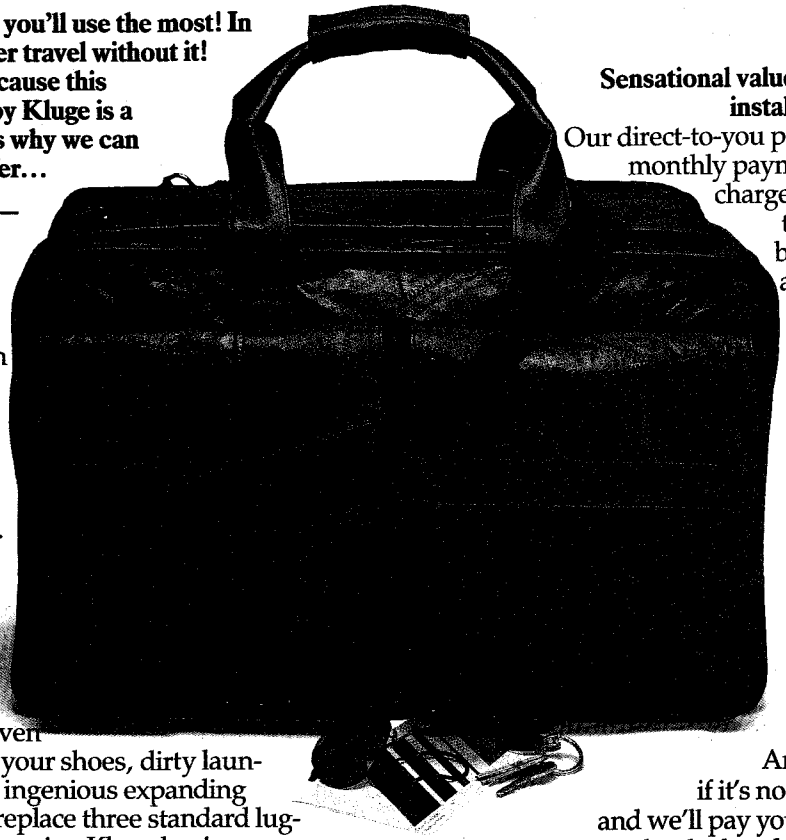

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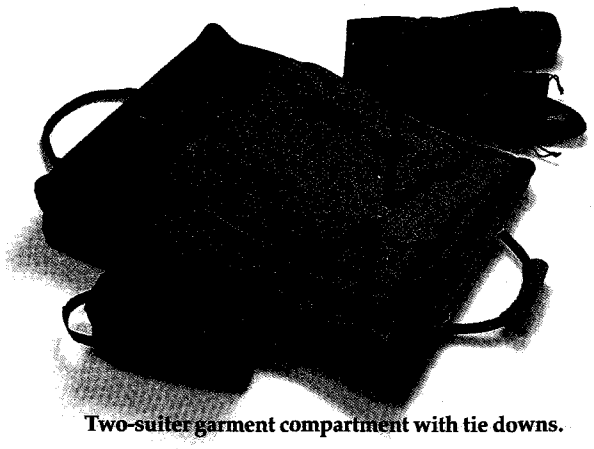

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LETTERS

Loggerheads

In "Divided We Fall" ["The Week," March 30], you lay out conditions for Pat Buchanan to make peace with the Bush Administration. Because Buchanan has led some "reasonable people" to believe he is anti-Semitic, he must "apologize to those he has offended . . . even if he is conscious of no ill-feeling or wrongdoing." Further, he will be forgiven because "his conservative critics are in general men of goodwill."

I hope he doesn't. A man ought never be made to apologize for a crime of which he is innocent. Yes, some reasonable people have agonized over this matter, and a fraternal discussion is in order—with them, and them only.

But the vast majority of the so-called conservative critics who are "in general men of goodwill" are deserving of nothing more than contempt. They know Pat Buchanan personally. They've fought side by side in the same foxholes for years. Never before had they questioned his morals or his motives. Indeed, on most issues there was agreement. But then Pat did what they could not muster the courage to do: he challenged Mr. Bush, and in the process captured the banner of American conservatism. Now their political futures are threatened. So they call him an "anti-Semite," a "racist," and a "fascist" in the most scurrilous attempt at character assassination I have ever witnessed.

Yes, Rich Bond owes Mr. Buchanan an apology. So, too, do those "conservative critics" who smeared him out of sheer political opportunism. And at the front of that line should be one of *NR*'s senior editors, William J. Bennett.

L. Brent Bozell III
National Finance Chairman
Buchanan for President
Vienna, Va.

In our reply to the 13 conservatives who criticized our qualified endorsement of Mr. Buchanan, we wrote that "if he [Mr. Buchanan] is to deliver apologies, he also deserves to receive some." Mr. Bennett adds his own reply below. —ED.

I find it ironic that Pat Buchanan's national finance chairman is shocked—shocked!—that his boss is on the receiving end of criticism. Ironic because if anyone has made a good living leveling criticisms, it's Pat. Ironic, too, because in this instance he threw the first punch.

Brent Bozell implies that everything was basically fine between Pat Buchanan and the rest of the conservative movement, until Buchanan decided to run for President, when many of us decided to turn on him. But would Pat himself agree with this account? Probably not, since it was he who, in a column seven months before *he entered the presidential race, described neoconservatives (and me specifically) this way: "Like fleas who conclude they are steering the dog, their relationship to the* [conservative] *movement has always been parasitical." According to Buchanan, the Old Right had had it and were "ready to hang out the dirty linen, if necessary, to restore their movement to its first principles." And as for the "tactics" of neoconservatives, they "left many conservatives wondering if we hadn't made a terrible mistake when we brought these ideological vagrants in off the street and gave them a warm place by the fire."*

What exactly is *Buchanan's political endgame? Again, one need only examine his own words. In referring (May 1, 1991) to the "deep disagreements" between neoconservatives and "traditional" conservatives, he wrote, "the time to split the blanket has probably arrived. Before true conservatives can ever take back the country, they are first going to have to take back their movement."*

The future of the conservative movement, then, is what this battle is fundamentally about. If Brent Bozell is willing to subscribe to the Old Right brand of conservatism—isolationist, protectionist, nativistic, narrow, and angry—he's free to do so. But I (like many others) am not willing to march under Pat Buchanan's banner of 1930s-style conservatism. Let the debate begin. —WJB

A Special Encounter

The delightful reminiscences by Charlton Heston ["Touch of Genius," Feb. 3] reminded me of my own experience with Orson Welles in Paris many years ago, shortly after the making of *The Third Man*. At an elegant but venerable hotel, the France et Choiseul, the portly great man and myself found ourselves in an antique two-man elevator, approximately the size of a bucket for carrying cement to a building site. As we wedged ourselves in, navel jammed against navel, there was a pause while we ascertained where the controls might be. Welles said, "Where the hell's the button?" I said, "I think under your left buttock."

He looked at me for a moment, possibly assessing my English accent, and then growled—"Okay, I trust you, you get it!" End of conversation—alas! I was too young and callow to enquire where he purchased his cuckoo clocks in Switzerland, nor, *pace* Charlton Heston, did he say, as he might have done, "Never tell a living soul about what you have experienced this day."

Alistair Horne
Turville, England

Thanks, But . . .

I am always grateful for a review, especially a favorable one. So I hesitate to point out some factual errors in Allen Randolph's review of my book, *Reagan's Terrible Swift Sword* ["Right Books," March 2]. Yet I must do so because they reflect upon several of my dearest associates from the Reagan Administration.

Somehow, the reviewer is under the impression that I blame the White House "troika" for "undermining Reagan's mandate to shrink the bureaucracy." First of all, one of the main points of the book is that we did cut the non-defense bureaucracy in the first term—by over 100,000. Although I did mention that two of the troika were not especially supportive, I did not apply this observation to Ed Meese. Indeed, I give Ed credit for several bureaucratic reforms.

More bizarrely, Mr. Randolph writes that I "found it impossible to get the President's imprimatur on reforms to unclog bureaucracy and save taxpayers millions of dollars." In one mad sense this is true—we saved $6 *billion*. But, as I make abundantly clear, it was President Reagan who inspired and led the whole effort. I was only his Sword.

Most seriously, the review mislabels as "gaffes" courageous actions taken by public servants who had the guts to cut bureaucracy in the shark-infested waters of Washington. As the book makes manifest, Jim Watt, Ray Donovan, Jim Miller, Gerald Carmen, Tom Pauken, and many others took the heat, allowing the Teflon President to succeed.

Donald Devine
Alexandria, Va.

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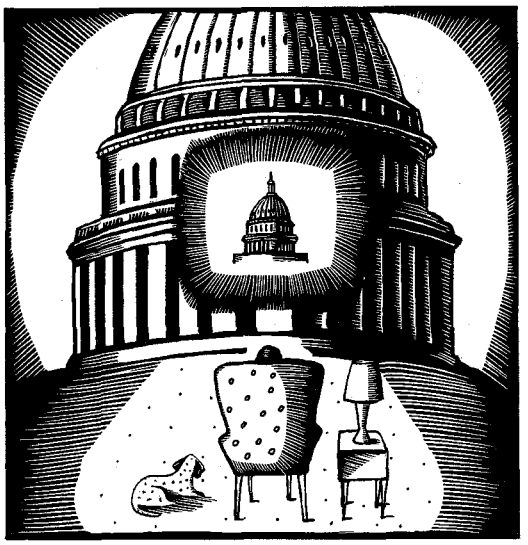

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FROM THE EDITOR

Now—More than Then

■ Richard Nixon may not have been the most successful President of recent times, but he is certainly the most successful ex-President.

The recent Nixon Library conference on "America's Role in the Emerging World" came when the media were telling us that the public was interested solely in domestic needs, congressmen were in flight from foreign aid, and Pat Buchanan was denouncing George Bush's New World Order.

Now, whenever I hear conservatives cheer Mr. Buchanan's attacks on the NWO, I am reminded of Dr. Johnson's remark: "There are ten thousand stout fellows in London ready to fight to the death against Popery, though they know not whether it be a man or a horse." But the blame for this must be shared by Mr. Bush for failing to define his vision effectively, as well as by Mr. Buchanan for misunderstanding it very effectively indeed.

All this created an unpropitious atmosphere for more generous aid to Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Still, Mr. Nixon leaked a memorandum calling for it, reiterated his arguments in a speech to the conference, and nodded benignly while various notables trooped to the podium to announce that they would risk the voters' wrath to support it.

He had taken a timid establishment by the scruff of its neck and made it speak up for what it believed. He had also helped Mr. Bush by extending the politically possible to include a more activist internationalism.

But the President would have had to be very detached indeed to favor a memorandum describing the current level of aid as "pathetic." So Mr. Bush deserves credit for the generosity of his tribute to Mr. Nixon at the conference, which began with the magic words: "Mr. President."

■ His old boss had given Mr. Bush an important lesson for November: he must take an unpopular stand on a high-profile issue. Exactly what issue is less important, as long as it enables the President to show that a) he feels deeply about something and b) he is prepared to fight for it.

As it happens, the issue of aid to Yeltsin is as good as anything and better than most. It emphasizes the President's reputation for skill in foreign policy. It divides both the Democrats and the conservatives, many of whom want to entrench Yeltsin against a revengeful *nomenklatura*. And, best of all, it may not be unpopular. Most people know they know little of foreign policy and would very likely be swayed by the Nixonian argument that aid is an investment in future world peace.

There are two further ways in which Mr. Bush could enhance his prospects. He might promise "no *more* new taxes" to regain the voters' trust on a key issue. But a mere promise, having been once shrugged off, is not enough. It must be underscored by the removal of advisors associated with breaking the first pledge, namely Mr. Darman and Mr. Brady. They will not starve.

That would also advance the third aim: winning back the "Buchanan brigades." Mr. Bush has already made policy concessions to that end. Now he needs to find friendly words that treat Mr. Buchanan as a Republican in good standing while maintaining a subtle edge over him.

How? Twenty years ago, when British Tories had a similar firebrand in Enoch Powell, Iain Macleod produced this formulation. I offer it now to Peggy Noonan: "Enoch and I get on the same train, but I like to get off before it crashes into the buffers."

■ Mr. Nixon did a service to another old friend last week when he invited Mr. Buchanan home for political advice, kind words, and a photo opportunity. So, twenty years after Watergate, Mr. Nixon re-legitimized Mr. Bush as an internationalist and Mr. Buchanan as a Republican.

Who woulda thunk it?

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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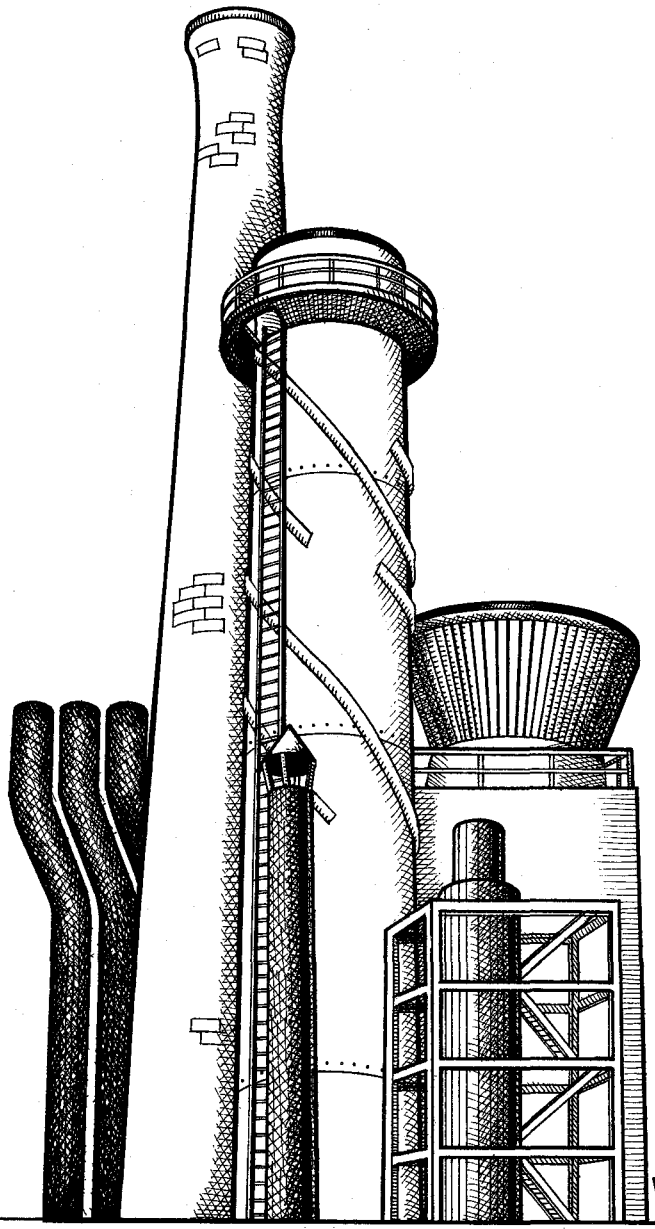

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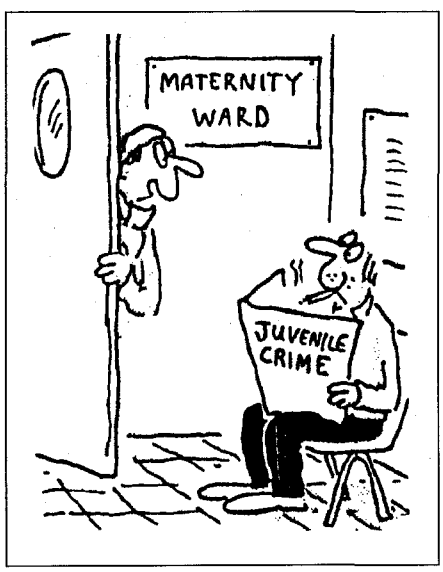
FOR THE RECORD

■ How long does **Pat Buchanan** plan to last? Until June anyway, and the California primary, despite **Richard Nixon**'s suggestion that he should pull out. (However, he did indicate willingness to consider his former boss's advice to stop targeting **George Bush** and shift his sights to **Bill Clinton**.) . . . Right-wing economist **Thomas Sowell** says Buchanan has given Republicans a way of saying they're fed up without voting for **David Duke**. "People are sick and tired of being betrayed by politicians, including the President." . . . Buchanan's Midwestern scores are equal to **Jerry Brown**'s and his stand on the economy is paying off. According to *Washington Post*, his criticism of Bush for breaking no-new-taxes promise "has resonated in every primary, with Buchanan voters much more likely than Bush voters to list taxes as a voting issue." . . . Brown will take advantage of the "cantankerous" atmosphere of April 7 New York primary, according to **Curtis Wilkie** in the *Boston Globe*, for no strategy of Bill Clinton's "can fully prepare for guerrilla strikes by Brown in the urban jungles of New York." . . . However, Clinton has proved adept at pushing aside what **Mario Cuomo** calls "personal stuff," like the attempt to avoid being drafted. When **Dan Quayle** ran into this problem in 1988, there were four times as many news stories about it as have been printed or aired about Clinton's draft avoidance. . . . One reason, according to *New Republic* senior editor **Hendrik Hertzberg**, is that reporters like Clinton: "They think he would make a very good, perhaps a great President." . . . The lack of funds—which **Paul Tsongas** blamed for his withdrawal—has affected all the candidates in vivid contrast to four years ago. Recession, and fact that an incumbent President is running, are blamed. By February 1988, $149 million had been raised for the field of candidates—five times as much as this year's $32 billion. The same phenomenon is reflected in PAC contributions. In 1988 Automobile Dealers had raised $2.3 million; this year, $1.2 million.

■ House of Representatives' check-kiting scandal was followed by cocaine deals in the House post office reported by the *Washington Times*, but the rest of the press wasn't interested. As for the check scandal itself, liberal columnist **Michael Kinsley** pooh-poohed the whole thing. Forget it, he told his readers—"Get serious. Grow up." . . . The withdrawal of Democratic Sen. **Brock Adams** following sexual-harassment charges has spared Washington-state Democrats considerable embarrassment; their choice to replace him is former Rep. **Mike Lowry**. The several Republicans who have announced for the seat include Rep. **Rod Chandler** and State Sen. **Leo Thorsness**, a Vietnam POW. . . . New Hampshire Gov. **Judd Gregg** is eyeing Senate seat of retiring two-termer **Warren Rudman** (R.). Gregg spent eight years in House before moving to statehouse in 1988, succeeding **John Sununu**. . . . United Nations Ambassador **Thomas Pickering** was fired by Secretary of State **James Baker**'s spokesman, **Margaret Tutwiler**, because he got good personal publicity during the Gulf War, according to *New York Observer*. The paper said Mrs. Tutwiler considered herself the "guardian of the box" and that, in Washington, publicity is a zero-sum game: "Anything that Pickering gets—Baker doesn't."



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"Congratulations—it's a young offender."

■ **Mikhail Gorbachev**, who now writes a syndicated column for the *New York Times*, is also interested in doing specials for American television, but his agent won't let him talk to the camera for anything less than $50,000, according to gossip in Moscow. Gorbachev's pension is about 4,000 rubles a month, worth $57 on the market. . . . Russian troops stationed in Cuba don't want to leave, for four reasons: part of their pay is in hard currency; food and clothing are much cheaper; climate is nicer, especially the beaches; and there is an excellent Russian school in Havana. . . . At the same time, Cuban students in Moscow are rioting in protest being ordered back to a "totalitarian" homeland. "In Russia," says **Alvaro Alba** of the Cuban Alliance in Moscow, "there are the same difficulties as in Cuba: housing shortages, miserly wages, food shortages. But here I can at least breathe." Many students say their ultimate goal is Miami. . . . Despite reports of greater religious liberty in China, regime is cracking down on Christians worshipping outside government-sanctioned churches, according to Puebla Institute, a lay Catholic human-rights organization. . . . Fifty Chinese Protestants associated with the New Birth house-church movement were jailed last year; twenty were sentenced to "re-education"; and eighteen are still being held without trial.

■ Archbishop of Canterbury **George Carey** vetoed a Church of England homosexual prayer book. The book, called *Daring to Speak Love's Name*, includes a rite of repentance for denying one's homosexuality. Citing St. Peter's denial of Christ, the prayer asks God to forgive "the times when we have betrayed God our creator, ourselves, and our gay brothers and lesbian sisters by denying implicitly or explicitly that we are 'one of them.'" The lesbian author Dr. **Elizabeth Stuart** called canceling the book "a shameful and shabby affair."

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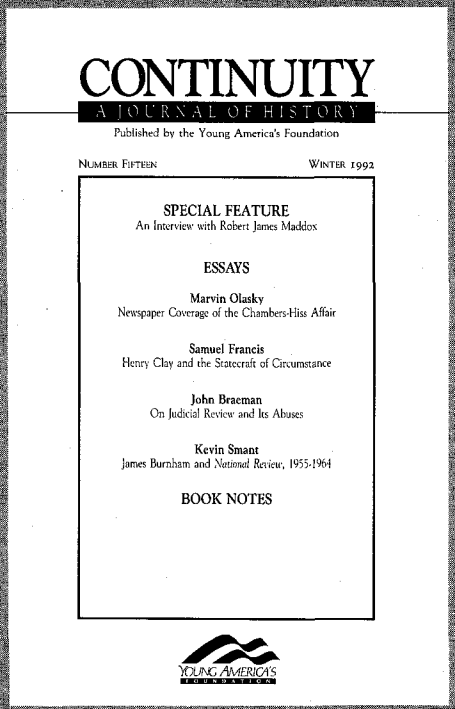
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THE WEEK

■ We don't want to accuse Bill Clinton of duplicity, but, if elected, he might be the first President to deliver his inaugural address on split-screen TV.

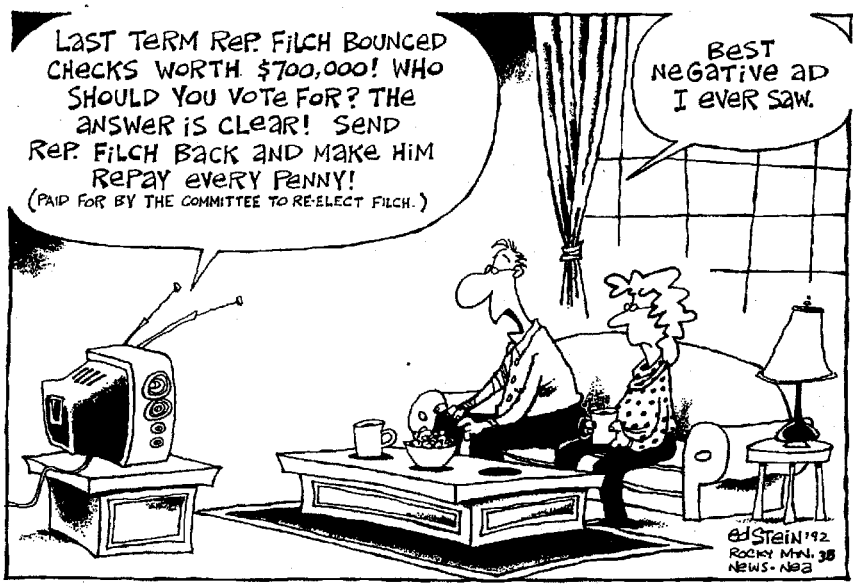
■ Having previously established that she was no Tammy Wynette, Hillary Clinton has sent up another warning flare: "I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies, and had teas, but what I decided to do was fulfill my profession," i.e., busybody lawyer. She's making it pretty clear that she regards the life of a full-time wife and mother with disdain. As head of the Children's Defense Fund (see "The Week," March 30), she "fulfills" her profession by seeking to police the family. In our view, a woman who inflicted the name Chelsea on her only child is in no position to preach to others about children's rights.

■ Pat Buchanan has paid a friendly visit to his old boss, now the Sage of Woodcliff Lake, N.J., and was urged by Mr. Nixon to withdraw from the race. Buchanan refused, but agreed with Nixon that he would now direct his fire at Clinton(s). The former President made a contribution to the Buchanan campaign: five rubles. The visit was a graceful move on the part of both men, as Nixon in effect legitimized Buchanan as a loyal though dissenting Republican. Would it not now be appropriate for Nixon to join Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan at the Houston Convention in August?

■ Senator Howard Metzenbaum (along with cronies John Glenn and Carl Levin) is up in arms about a regulator with the gall to suggest that regulations might hurt people. James MacRae, acting director of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, has held up a 3,500-page (!) Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) rule that would set workplace-exposure limits on a thousand or so toxic substances. His rationale? While OSHA says the rule will save from 8 to 15 lives every year, it doesn't account for the probably greater number of lives that would be lost paying the $163-million implementation bill. "Richer workers on average buy more leisure time, more nutritious food, more preventive health care, and smoke and drink less than poorer workers," MacRae pointed out to OSHA. "In combination, these factors significantly extend longevity." But any suggestion that Uncle Sam is saving Peter by killing Paul is deeply resented by Metzenbaum & Co., who will never be given credit for the presents they give if it is realized that someone else is paying the bill.

■ Senator Alan Dixon's defeat in the Illinois Democratic primary has sent shudders through his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. Although Dixon was a casualty of anti-incumbent feeling and victor Carol Braun was helped by the anti-Dixon ads of a third candidate, Al Hofeld, the liberal spin doctors are already out in force. The most popular establishment interpretation is that Dixon lost because he voted for Clarence Thomas and because Republican women didn't like that. Admittedly, says the *Washington Post*, this isn't as obvious as it might be, inasmuch as Miss Braun "seldom mentioned" the issue during her campaign and Republican women are not normally considered a potent force in Democratic primaries. But let's hope they keeping thinking so.

■ Here's one for the Clinton campaign. Twelve years into the Reagan/Bush era, the United States remains uncompetitive in yet another lucrative world market: millionaires. That's right. When Congress revised our immigration laws in 1990, it included a provision that allowed the U.S. Government to issue a green card to anyone who would come here to invest a million dollars. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, although some ten thousand slots were allotted only 225 millionaires have applied—compared to, for example, thirty thousand applicants over the last five years for a similar program in Canada. Seems the primary reason is that the IRS's authority makes America uncongenial to anyone who has


LAST TERM REP. FILCH BOUNCED CHECKS WORTH $700,000! WHO SHOULD YOU VOTE FOR? THE ANSWER IS CLEAR! SEND REP. FILCH BACK AND MAKE HIM REPAY EVERY PENNY!
(PAID FOR BY THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT FILCH.)
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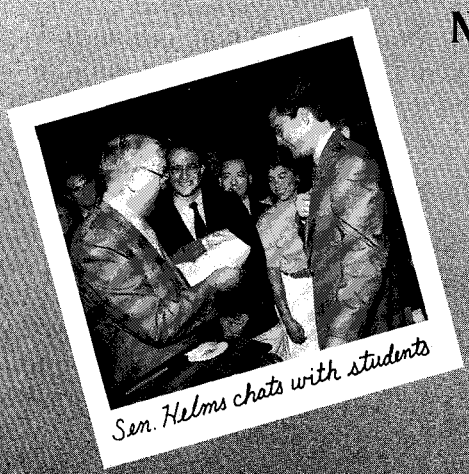

Sen. Helms chats with students

Students debate conference issues

Newt Gingrich delivers a speech

"The conference was a tremendous opportunity. What a week!"
—T.S., student

"I thoroughly enjoyed the speakers, as well as the opportunity to spend time with conservative students from across the country."
—P.R., student

"This summer, I had the distinct pleasure of addressing the Foundation's summer conference here in Washington. I was extremely impressed with the dedication to American values all the students shared. As conservatives, the best investment we can make is in the youth that will be our leaders and educators of tomorrow."
—Cong. Newt Gingrich, Republican Whip

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that much money and is shopping around for a home. Tax cuts for the rich, anyone?

■ The deficit is back on page one. The Administration now forecasts a $400-billion deficit in 1992, declining slowly to $180 billion by 1996, followed by another upward spiral at century's end. Despite what most Americans think, this fiscal debacle was preventable—and it can still be fixed. The 1990 Budget Act erred badly when it jettisoned the Gramm–Rudman–Hollings deficit targets. Although defense was cut, the budget deal allowed entitlements to go through the roof (see "Right Data," p. 14). Discretionary programs were "capped," but at levels that surpassed even Congress's spending proclivities. The new Bush budget calls for 6 per cent annual growth in federal domestic spending. In the light of the deficit forecasts, this is unconscionable. But just putting a 4 per cent cap on these outlays would reduce the 1997 deficit by $100 billion from the current forecast, *and* enable a $1,000-per-child tax credit. Congress will, however, have to eliminate wasteful discretionary spending. The President was on the right track when he rescinded the Vidalia Onion Storage Study, the Manure Disposal Research Project, and 66 other pork-barrel projects. But this pork is small potatoes. The 1990 agreement requires that defense cuts be used for deficit reduction rather than to fund other spending areas. This fiscal firewall is the one strength in an otherwise ruinous deal. We must keep it intact, and fix the rest.

■ Robert Strauss, George Bush's surprise choice last August as ambassador to Moscow, is rubbing the Russians the wrong way, according to sources who spoke to the *Washington Times*. Instead of being the master political operator and facilitator of commerce, he has impressed Russians more as a self-centered blowhard who knows nothing of Russian politics or culture. Some American diplomats also fault him for his continuing Gorbophilia last year long after Yeltsin had supplanted Gorbachev as the embodiment of democratic, free-market reform. While senior levels of the Bush Administration still speak highly of Strauss, perhaps they are congratulating themselves on having removed this prominent Democrat from the American scene—where (perhaps because he *is* a self-centered blowhard) his mastery of the local political culture is not often disputed.

■ The announcement by Robert Mugabe, dictator of Zimbabwe (née Rhodesia), that white-owned farms will be seized with little compensation and given to black peasants must have sent a chill down the spines of South African whites who two days before had voted yes in President de Klerk's referendum. There are already eerie resemblances between the atmosphere in white-settled farming areas of South Africa today (see Peter Taylor's article, p. 22) and in Rhodesia twenty years ago. But South Africa today is much more industrialized than Rhodesia was twenty years ago; its prospects for future wealth are not so heavily dependent on mineral resources. And there are a certain number of younger black (and Indian, and Coloured) bankers, lawyers, and other professionals who have a stake in a prosperous multiracial society. Many urban blacks are very aware that they are better off than blacks anywhere else on the continent. If enough of them come to understand the implications of that, there may be a chance of extending the extremely pleasant way of life enjoyed by South African whites to the other races, rather than destroying it for everyone.

■ The word reaches us as we go to press that one of the two or three most important scholars whose work crystallized the anatomy of liberty is dead. Friedrich von Hayek was in every sense a doctor of economics, but he wrote also in communicable form, and arrived in New York immediately after the war ended to find that he had written a best-seller. *The Road to Serfdom* warned of what would happen, to liberty and to the economy, under socialism. Its appearance was one reason why Great Britain in due course drew back. His message, elaborated through his masterwork—*The Constitution of Liberty*—continues to influence libertarian thought. In a future issue, we will give fuller expression to our esteem for Professor Hayek and his work.

■ Johnny may not be able to read, but New York City will be darned if he leaves school before learning how to use a rubber. Hence the graphic "safe sex" pamphlets available in its high-school condom giveaway program. One handout, funded with taxpayer dollars via the federal Centers for Disease Control, glorifies the prophylactic (they "can be sexy! They come in different colors, sizes, flavors, and styles"), gives the usual how-to-wear-one pictures, suggests "safe sex" one-liners ("Getting down with you is great. It could be even better if we used rubbers. How about trying the red ones tonight?"), and proclaims a "Teenager's Bill of Rights"—among them the "right to decide whether to have sex and who to have it with." And that's tame stuff compared to another pamphlet produced by the Gay Men's Health Crisis, which explains how to "protect" oneself while still enjoying any number of activities we decline to list. Should you wish to know more, contact any Big Apple 12-year-old for details.

■ In a farewell address at the National Press Club, NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer confirmed that his early retirement was due not to his own wishes that he return to private life but to Pat Buchanan's.

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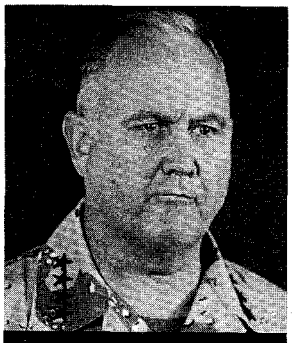
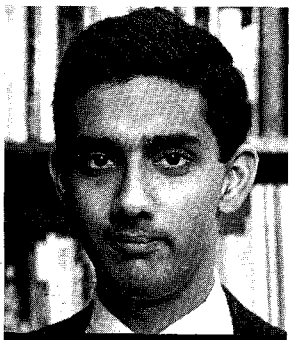


General Norman Schwarzkopf spoke to 3,000 at Chapman College.

Jeremiah Denton rallied 1,700 students at Washington and Lee University.



Dinesh D'Souza was greeted by 500 at the University of Virginia.

Edwin Meese addresses crowd of 2,000 students at Pepperdine University.

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Professor Raymond Wolters on Foundation sponsored speech at the University of Delaware.

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New York Times on Dinesh D'Souza's Foundation sponsored speech at Southwestern University.

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In the course of his emotional goodbye, Mr. Frohnmayer recited the First Amendment, attacked Mr. Buchanan as a "Frankenstein monster," likened his detractors in Congress to Nazis, declared that ending taxpayer subsidies for the more controversial forms of expression would give a monopoly to "dead, white European males," and concluded by singing a verse from a Shaker hymn. Asked about his advice to the Administration, Mr. Frohnmayer replied: "I can't think of anyone in his right mind who would want this job." Coming from the man who was evicted from it, that's quite a confession.

■ Ever alert for grievance opportunities, the gay and lesbian community is protesting the porno slasher thriller *Basic Instinct* because a principal suspect in the film is bisexual. From the sound of it, this is a movie every civilized person should protest, but that could be said of a hundred others, and civilized people are suffering from moral fatigue these days. Oliver Stone's *JFK* is also under attack for showing homosexuals in the conspiracy to kill Kennedy. But given the magnitude of the conspiracy Stone posits, plus the number of homosexuals gay activists claim in the general population (tens of millions), it would seem statistically improbable for Kennedy to have been murdered exclusively by straight people.

■ WTOP, the only all-news radio station in the nation's capital, has announced that henceforth it will no longer use politically incorrect names such as "Redskins" on the air. Other sports teams whose names have become taboo on TOP include the Atlanta Braves, the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame, and,

RIGHT DATA

Who's Entitled?

GEORGE BUSH claims that he agreed to raise taxes in 1990 in return for "serious controls on spending." The second part of that deal never materialized: led by entitlements, domestic federal spending (excluding the S&L bailout) will increase more during Bush's first four years than during Ronald Reagan's eight:

DOMESTIC FEDERAL SPENDING
(Billions of 1992 $)

	Mandatory Entitlements		Discretionary Spending		
	$	% of Budget	$	% of Budget	$ Total
1970	226.0	31.1	143.6	19.8	369.6
1980	442.4	43.7	220.8	21.9	663.2
1988	563.6	45.2	185.4	14.9	749.0
1991	617.2	45.3	201.4	14.8	818.6
1992E	675.5	45.7	216.2	14.7	891.7

The 1990 Budget Act "controlled" entitlements by requiring new spending to "pay for itself" via offsetting tax hikes or reductions in other entitlements. Congress easily circumvented this rule by putting automatic spending increases into existing legislation. Indeed, by their very nature, entitlements are difficult to control. Social Security and Medicare—which together account for 60 per cent of all entitlement spending—are available to anyone over age 65, whether needy or not. Congress has steadfastly refused to impose a means test for Social Security, or to modify its annual cost-of-living adjustment. Unemployment benefits are paid to wealthy executives and poor laborers alike.

Since the start of the Great Society in 1966 entitlement spending has increased more than tenfold, after adjusting for inflation, dwarfing the 81 per cent rise in real GNP. The rise has been continual, even during the Reagan years: real entitlement spending in 1989 was 17 per cent higher than in 1981, although the poverty population increased less than 1 per cent over that period.

Even during a recession the potential for cutting entitlements seems enormous, especially considering that only one-fourth of all so-called anti-poverty spending actually trickles down as cash to the poor. In New York State, for example, people with incomes as high as $1,565 per month *after* the subtraction of medical expenses, and with assets totaling as much as $62,580 after these expenses, are eligible for Medicaid—the health program for the poor. Similarly, half of the $2 billion spent nationally on school lunch and breakfast programs go to families with incomes of over $25,000 per year, or 185 per cent of the poverty level. Agricultural subsidies are available to farmers with nonfarm incomes of more than $125,000, and middle-income families are eligible for student loans and grants that are desperately needed by the neediest college students.

The Bush budget acknowledges the entitlement problem. But its proposed remedy—a "cap" on mandatory spending growth set equal to growth in population plus CPI plus 4.1 per cent—seems little better than the current situation. Indeed, despite the economic recovery forecast by OMB for 1992 to 1997, the budget foresees higher real entitlement spending over this period. —ED RUBENSTEIN

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possibly, the Vancouver Canucks. D.C. Councilman William Lightfoot has even introduced a measure urging the Washington Redskins to help out by changing their name officially. How about the *Thinskins*?

Spring Training

WITH Paul Tsongas pulling out and Pat Buchanan downshifting, the primary contests have started to look like a warm-up for Bush–Clinton—even though Jerry Brown is coming up on the outside.

Bill Clinton will have the harder time of it for at least the next few weeks. Unlike George Bush, who will continue to be blessed with a responsible opponent not given to ad-hominem attacks, Clinton must cope with the electric wrath of Jerry Brown. Brown has tapped into the inchoate resentment of government, which he exploits inchoately: think of Brown as Rush Limbaugh minus good humor and principles. Brown is unconvincing as a presidential nominee, or even as a front-runner. His victory in Connecticut and elsewhere is really evidence of the unease that Clinton arouses. Clinton is still the Democrat most likely to succeed, though a brokered convention and the selection of a Gephardt or a Bentsen can no longer be ruled out.

Mr. Bush, on the other hand, is assured of the Republican nomination, but of little else. The brief success of Paul Tsongas was a tribute to Mr. Bush's failure on economics. By abandoning his tax pledge and presiding over a recession, Bush created a slot for an earnest, moderate-sounding Democrat who made pro-business noises. Clinton, whose policies and rhetoric are not so very different from Tsongas's, can fill that slot quite snugly.

The boom for H. Ross Perot is another sign of Bush's weakness. Perot is anti–Desert Storm and pro-abortion, and is running on his résumé. His campaign wouldn't have registered on the political radar screens under Ronald Reagan. But *sub regno* Bush, the GOP has begun worrying about carrying Texas.

Bad Vibes

Hillary Clinton's a girl who despises
Watching a cake till the silly thing rises,
Nor is she nuts about fetching a slipper
As, one presumes, Nancy does for the Gipper;
Summing it up, what I'm getting from Hillary
Hints she's the spouse with the long-range artillery.

W. H. VON DREELE

What can George Bush do? The Buchanan challenge puts him on the right road. The President must fight as best he can the Democratic demagogy on taxes. On the social issues, Bush must stay the course he began when, prodded by Buchanan, he fired John Frohnmayer. He has the great advantage of his opponent. Under a veneer of moderation Clinton buys the entire liberal social agenda, while his wife sounds like a Fabian socialworker out of a Shaw play. Finally, Mr. Bush must defend his foreign-policy record. There is much to defend, especially against a man who sees two sides to every war.

Can Bush do it? We cannot be wholly confident, since we remember the last time a moderate Republican ran against a moderate Southern Democrat. However, if Mr. Bush returns to the conservative themes he ran on in 1988, he can begin to reassemble the coalition of conservatives and independents who gave him his victory then. But to say conservative things will not be enough. He must convince people who lived through his first term that he really means them for his second.

Nukes for Ukes

ANOTHER summit of the Commonwealth of (ex-Soviet) Independent States ended in failure on March 20, as Russia and Ukraine continued their feud over economic policy and the allocation of military resources (especially tactical nuclear weapons). The next day, voters in Tatarstan, an autonomous region within the Russian public, voted by 61.4 per cent for full sovereignty, challenging the cohesion of Russia itself. Post-Communism may be entering its first major crisis.

We continue to feel sympathy for Boris Yeltsin's historic democratic experiment. We share Richard Nixon's complaint that the West has responded with woeful inadequacy to the challenge of helping along an endeavor in whose success we have a huge political and moral stake. One thing the Administration has done is press all the ex-Soviet republics to work together in the interests of economic rationality and of a safe disposition (and reduction) of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Not wrongly, either.

The West's dilemma is that we must support Russia in its benign endeavor without promoting the restoration of the Russian Empire. Nationalism is a powerful force in Ukraine and in the other non-Russian republics, all the stronger since it was suppressed for so long not only under the Soviet dictatorship, but under Imperial Russia. Americans would be naïve to ignore its political force—or its legitimacy. The United States only risks alienating these peoples (Ukraine is a country the size of France), as President Bush did with his maladroit

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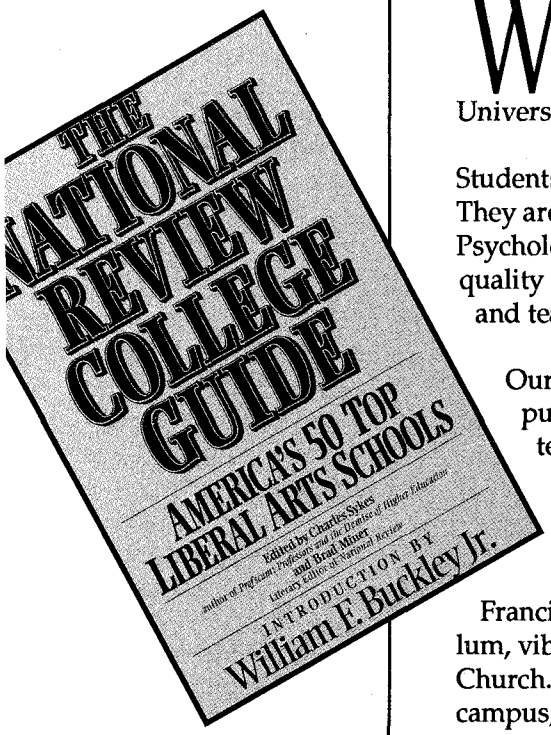

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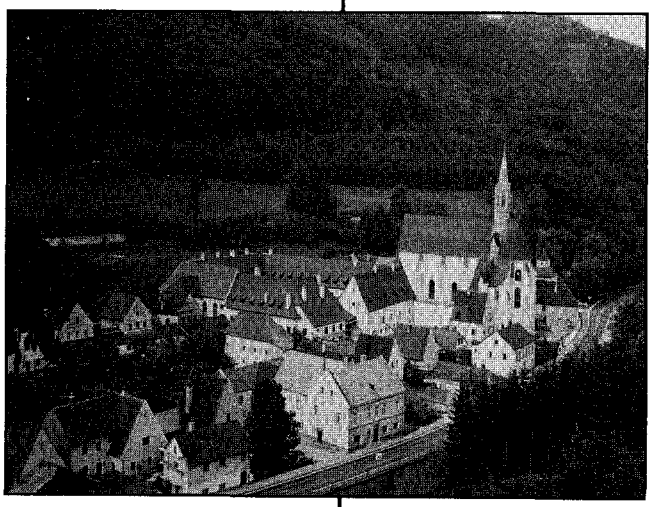

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speech in Kiev last fall, urging the Ukrainians to stay within Gorbachev's USSR. And in the longer run we risk a major geopolitical blunder.

It is clear that the Ukrainian motive is to hold on to nuclear weapons as a guarantee against Russian hegemony. It is not our job to browbeat it or the other republics into submission to Russian dominance, and our insistence on the recentralization of the Soviet nuclear arsenal in Russian hands has the perverse result of maximizing Ukrainian insecurity, which leads the Ukrainians to be less eager to let go of the nukes. Ukrainian stubbornness, meanwhile, has provoked nationalist reactions in Russia, where heavy breathing about reclaiming the (Russian-speaking) Crimea only reinforces Ukrainian paranoia. The Tatar challenge will now compound this.

The Tatar case is a hard one; it may not be possible for Russia's experiment to survive if its autonomous regions all defect. But with respect to former republics like Ukraine, the West has an unmistakable interest in their survival and security as independent states. An expansionist Russia that swallowed them up would be a threat to its other neighbors as well. The Administration, which sided too long with Gorbachev over Yeltsin, seems now too wedded to the restoration of hegemonic power in Yeltsin's hands. The more unequivocal the U.S. is in endorsing the sovereign independence of the new republics, the more willing they will be to trust their security to international agreements rather than to nuclear weapons. The Administration's anxiety about nuclear proliferation is understandable, but anxiety does not constitute a policy.

"It's awful these days. It's getting so you can't tell the radicals from the conservatives."

Expletive Deleted

WE DON'T know whether James Baker made the crack about American Jews that Ed Koch reported he did (the State Department vigorously denied it), but the episode only highlighted a problem the Administration has created for itself in its Middle East policy. The substance of the policy is better than its tone, its achievements more creditable than the gratuitous sniping it occasionally directs at Israel. A relationship of dependency is corrupting on both sides, and perhaps some good will come out of the brawl over loan guarantees if Israel can get its economic house in order (see Joel Bainerman's analysis on p. 41).

The Administration has no obligation to do Yitzhak Shamir any special favors between now and the June 23 Israeli elections. At the same time, it would be wise to avoid such a posture of confrontation that it produces a backlash in Israel. Whether they intended to or not, the President and Secretary of State have triggered a barrage of anti-Israel leaks from all over the U.S. Government. The leaks alleging illicit Israeli transfers of U.S. arms technology (including of Patriot missile know-how to China) may be unauthorized—Defense intelligence sources have been notorious leakers of tendentious information in this area, and the State Department Inspector General is beholden to no one in the State Department. But our policy-makers at the highest level have set a tone which only encourages this sort of thing.

That is not to exonerate Shamir's government, which has positively advertised its obduracy on the issue of the settlements. If it also proves to be the case that this government has resold sensitive American technology in breach of its agreements with us, that would be a serious matter indeed. We find it implausible, because it would put at risk Israel's most vital strategic asset—namely its defense relationship with the United States. We also find it hard to believe that Israel would help China improve the capability of the missiles it sells to the Arabs. But implausibility is not disproof. The Administration must investigate and settle the matter one way or the other.

And the quicker the better. For it is likely to obstruct what is the reasonably successful handling of the peace negotiations by the State Department. A recent State background briefing upbraided the Palestinian negotiators for their abrupt rejection of Israeli proposals for an internal Palestinian self-governing authority in the occupied territories. Having seen the Administration browbeat the Israelis in public daily, the Palestinians were stunned. They had forgotten that they too are partners to the negotiation who are expected to contribute sensibly. For the Administration, the lesson is that "evenhanded-

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ness" is not only another name for basic fairness; it has its virtues as a way of keeping the moral pressure on *both* sides to think seriously about compromise solutions.

PBS's Enemies List

ANY PBS viewer or NPR listener knows that scare tactics are a favorite angle for pledge-week beg-a-thons. This mendicant approach has been a successful one for public broadcasters. In 1980 there were 2.6 million contributors, and the annual budget for the system was $580 million. Some ten years later, public broadcasting spends $1.2 billion annually and boasts 5.2 million contributors. And these are among the best-heeled television viewers in the United States. For example, one in three contributors to Washington's WETA has a wine cellar.

Yet despite its obvious financial success, public broadcasting successfully presents a public image of perpetual crisis. The latest development has been to use the Senate debate over the fairness, balance, and fiscal management of the system as a fund-raising tool.

Station KCRW in Santa Monica, California—among the richest public radio stations in the United States—has raised some three-quarters of a million dollars by airing round-the-clock bulletins about a "cabal" of Republicans headed by Minority Leader Bob Dole. Not since Orson Welles's broadcast of *War of the Worlds* has radio been used to stir up such baseless anxiety.

The basis for KCRW's alarmism is found in a memo from the president of the Association of America's Public Television Stations to all station managers, congressional liaisons, public-information directors, and development (i.e., fund-raising) directors. The memo asked public broadcasters to "get so much political clout brought to bear on the Congress" and to point out that "our support comes from all elements of society (including contributors to congressional political campaigns) . . ." It concluded ominously: "This will be a long battle."

A battle against whom? The memo included a handy "enemies list." Named were seven senators (Dole, Craig, Nickles, Wallop, Smith, Lott, and Helms), two representatives (Armey and Crane), four publications (NATIONAL REVIEW, the *Washington Times*, *Mediawatch*, and *COMINT*), and several organizations (the Scaife Trusts, the Bradley, Olin, and Fieldstead Foundations, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, the Center for Media and Public Affairs, the Media Research Center, Accuracy in Media, and the Heritage Foundation). The list also included the names of marked individuals (David Horowitz, Richard Brookhiser, Robert Lichter, L. Brent Bozell, Reed Irvine, Larry Jarvik, Frank Shakespeare, and William Simon). What these all had in common, according to the memo, was that they were "conservative." The clear implication was that this was a dangerous situation. This was emphasized by references to the fact that the people and organizations are "interlocked"—as indeed are the sender and recipients of the memo.

Although designed to create the impression of an octopus-like conspiracy, the list seems to be nothing more than a grab bag of the letterheads of organizations the public broadcasters dislike and foundations which support them. But the conspiracy theory behind the enemies list reveals a disturbing attitude toward both the responsibilities of broadcasting and the obligations of PBS fully to represent the American public—which after all includes conservatives.

Where Credit Is Due

IF THERE is one issue on which President Bush has held firm in office, it is abortion. Yet some pro-life groups recently accused him of a sellout when the Administration eased the restrictions on counseling on abortion in federally funded clinics. Under new guidelines issued by the Department of Health and Human Services, doctors at these clinics will now be free to give limited advice on abortion.

There may be less here than meets the eye. It is at least arguable whether the state ought to interfere in the medical advice doctors give their patients; and nurses and counselors are still bound by the prohibition. We are heartened, moreover, that pro-choice activists such as Representative Les AuCoin (D., Ore.) have denounced the change as a "transparent political ploy because very few of the health-care workers who counsel low-income women in these clinics are doctors. The people who counsel women are still gagged."

Even so, by lifting the ban on doctors, the Administration has removed a heavy piece of artillery in the pro-choice assault on its policies: the idea that

Nixon's Zinger

Long before Mr. Bush had a fix on
What the speech was about, Mr. Nixon
    Gave a leg up to Boris
    Like a one-man Greek chorus
And a forecast recalling Jeane Dixon.

W. H. VON DREELE

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doctors are gagged. In any other Administration this might have been seen as tactically brilliant. But it has been greeted by the press and some pro-life groups as yet another flip-flop on the part of the Bush White House. That is an easy notion to sell these days. When a President reneges on a major issue like taxes, it affects his credibility on all issues. That said, however, conservatives should remember that Mr. Bush has shown principle and courage on abortion, and give him credit for it.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Sir:

I am outraged at your shoddy journalism. Not only did you publish lengthy excerpts from my presidential address to the John Randolph Club (*NR*, March 16) without ellipses; you published them without my permission. The copy given to your Mr. McGurn was not a clean one, and one that I had not proofed; more importantly, it was given to him only for his information, and under express instruction not to publish any of it. Moreover, Mr. McGurn gave repeated and explicit assurances that none of the speech would be published without my express permission. Not only that: the editing was such as to make my speech seem far less ideological and far more of a personal attack on Mr. Buckley than it really was.

Furthermore, if you had had the common decency to ask for my permission to publish, I would have refused. For the same reason that I strongly advised Pat Buchanan not to reply to Buckley's article: because NATIONAL REVIEW is in thrall to the neoconservatives, and NATIONAL REVIEW is no longer the forum within which all differences among conservatives must be discussed and resolved. Pat Buchanan's entry into the presidential race has made it crystal clear that NATIONAL REVIEW's day is finally done; now that we have *Human Events* for political news, *Chronicles* for intellectual substance, and Pat Buchanan as the political leader of our movement, who needs NATIONAL REVIEW? The answer is no one, apart from neoconservatives, and those who crave jobs and contacts inside the Beltway. Certainly not the younger conservatives, who are enthusiastic Buchananites; and not your donors and subscribers, once they find out what you have been up to.

NATIONAL REVIEW is "history"; it is a walking corpse who thinks it is still a living and vibrant force in American life. Why don't you have the grace to face reality and, along with Mr. Buckley, go into *permanent* retirement?

Sincerely yours,
Murray N. Rothbard
S. J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics
University of Nevada
Las Vegas, Nev.

Dear Dr. Rothbard: 1) NATIONAL REVIEW does not reprint ninety-minute-long speeches, whether delivered by Fidel Castro or by you. 2) Your speech was a public declaration and the text of it is public property. 3) Bill McGurn informs us he made no such representation, to keep your text confidential. 4) The whole speech should have been confidential. 5) Who needs NATIONAL REVIEW? Dear Murray, you need NATIONAL REVIEW. Who else prints your speeches? Cordially,

Bill
Distinguished *NR* Professor of Political Wisdom

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I noticed recently that Vice President Quayle was given the title *garkuwan* on a visit to a Nigerian village, entitling him to be called "your highness." Yet, Article I, Section 9 of the U.S. Constitution states: "and no person holding any office . . . shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept . . . [a] title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state." Surely, impeachment and treason proceedings cannot be discounted. Perhaps Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh could lead an inquiry.

Joseph John Holper
Chicago, Ill.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I need your help! Evil is lurking around every corner at the University of North Carolina. Every day I come across some kind of discrimination and I am suffering from it in a way that can't be described.

Last week I was in our weight room and a female told me I had a nice a--. Only two days after that incident, I saw a flyer which read, "LESBIAN CONVERGENCE: ALL WOMEN WELCOME."

I was going to let the first incident pass, but when the latter occurred, I thought of all the men who live in silence and fear of being harassed and discriminated against because they are not allowed to attend lesbian meetings. Mr. Buckley, in your opinion do you think I should press charges for sexual harassment for the severe emotional scars that I must live with for the rest of my life?

Also since the "Lesbian Convergence" is for women only, can that be considered discrimination against males? If it is sexist in your opinion, do you think I should go ahead and press charges for discrimination and make a suggestion to the lesbians to adopt an Affirmative Action Policy so men will not be denied access to their interests because of their sex?

Sincerely,
Matthew T. Iannuzzi
Greensboro, N.C.

Dear Mr. Iannuzzi: A terrific idea, with only one problem: What do you do if you prevail? Cordially,

—WFB

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ON THE SCENE

Rubber Congressmen

WILLIAM McGURN

Janet Hamlin

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IT'S NOT OFTEN I find myself in the same league as our esteemed solons on Capitol Hill. But my bona fides was established the same day the Democrats caved in to pressure to release the names of all 296 members and 59 former members of Congress who had kited checks. That evening I returned home in high spirits, only to find a note from my bank saying that check #1331, in the amount of $300, had been returned for insufficient funds.

Like other outraged citizens, however, this will by no means preclude me from gleefully casting stones. For starters, unlike checks drawn on the House Bank, mine actually bounce when I go over the limit. In addition, my infraction will cost me $25. Had this standard fine applied to, say, Robert Mrazek (D., N.Y.), he would owe $24,300 in penalties alone.

But the biggest difference between these congressmen and the rest of us is a proper sense of shame. Most of us have at one time or another come up short in our checking accounts, and most of us are greatly embarrassed by the experience. Compare this to the pompous complaint by Vic Fazio (D., Calif.) on *MacNeil/Lehrer* that Republicans are talking about check-kiting "to avoid frankly the subjects that we really need to be talking about, the scandal in health care, the prolonged recession, the high rates of unemployment . . ." etc. (You left out the homeless, congressman.) On the same show, radio whiz Rush Limbaugh immediately called him to task. "[I]t just won't do, Congressman Fazio, to sit there and say that the people don't care about this, that they want you to sit there and do the work of the country. You haven't been doing the work of the country. . . . You guys are our employees and you treat people in the country like we are your employees and you're the boss."

House Speaker Tom Foley must wish he had checked in with Mr. Limbaugh back when the issue was first brought to his attention, because his failure to act now threatens both his job and his party. As *NR* goes to press there are rumors that he was informed of problems with the House Bank as long ago as 1989, and we know for certain that there was a General Accounting Office report on the trouble back in 1990. The Speaker's failure to investigate is now sparking talk of a criminal investigation and is wreaking havoc in his own party. For Republicans, even more important than nailing another Speaker's scalp to the wall is an unprecedented opportunity to break the 38-year Democratic stranglehold on the Capitol—if only the President seizes the opportunity. If he doesn't, he is likely to find that the brewing public rebellion against government will lump him in with Congress as a willing accomplice.

Even the bare outlines of the scandal suffice to show why the Democrats are running scared. The first GAO report was completely ignored. But when the GAO issued another report in September 1991, a group of freshmen Republicans known as the Gang of Seven—Scott Klug (Wis.), Rick Santorum (Pa.), Jim Nussle (Iowa), John Doolittle (Calif.), Frank Riggs (Calif.), Charles Taylor (N.C.), and John Boehner (Ohio)—pressed for an investigation and refused to back down. This took more guts than is generally acknowledged, because the Young Turks were taking on the club itself; one of them says he felt as though "a large bull's-eye" were painted on his back as he mingled with his colleagues. Although Speaker Foley rejected the call for an investigation, the Gang of Seven kept the pressure on with special orders (short speeches to the camera at the end of business), eventually forcing Foley's hand. The result was the ethics-committee investigation.

Here is where it becomes unclear how much of the Speaker's reluctance to act was criminal and how much was sheer incompetence. Originally he wanted to limit disclosure to the 24 worst offenders. Unfortunately, the criteria used to select these 24 were flawed: the member had to have bounced checks in 8 of the 39 months under review, and for amounts larger than his monthly salary. This didn't get at people like, say, number 25 on the list, who bounced more than 850 checks totaling more than $150,000 over that period. Minority Whip Newt Gingrich cried foul and pressed for full disclosure.

The irony was that, far from limiting damage, the attempt to protect those who had abused the system ended up hurting those who were guilty of nothing more than not knowing exactly what their balances were on any given day. Most congressmen are quite right to say they knew of no problems, because it appears the House Bank waited as long as seven weeks to cash deposits (leading to speculation that it was floating money to cover up other scams). Since more than two hundred relatively innocent congressmen now face an angry electorate, Speaker Foley is arguably more unpopular with Democrats in

Mr. McGurn is NR's Washington Bureau Chief.

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the House than he is with Republicans.

This is not to minimize the criminal element. Right now we know there was a delay between the time Foley knew about the scandal and when he acted. What is not yet clear is whether he informed the Postal Service investigators about the criminal evidence obtained by the Capital Police, and whether he took any steps to conceal any of this from the U.S. Attorney's office. On the individual level, there are already cases of admitted wrongdoing: former Representative Jim Bates (D., Calif.) and at least two others have admitted using money for their campaigns. Others could be in trouble with the IRS for their failure to report outstanding notes, as well as those interest-free loans, as income. There are even rumors of one member taking interest-free money from his House Bank account and lending it to his campaign at 16 per cent interest.

Nor is this stopping at the House Bank. Gang of Seven member Frank Riggs has introduced legislation calling for an independent investigator general to sort out the mess. Not surprisingly, the Democrats are opposed to that solution and want a House administrator who would report to them. But Republicans argue that an administrator would not have the authority to get at, say, the management of the Speaker's discretionary fund, now $20 million strong. A year ago Speaker Foley was threatening to use that money to investigate the "October Surprise." Republicans have no idea how this unaudited, unaccounted-for slush fund is spent. Now is a good time to ask.

In contrast to the exposé that forced Speaker Jim Wright (D., Tex.) to step down three years ago, this is not a story of personal venality. Rather, it is a story about a system that made corruption routine. Already the first ripples are being felt. In the Illinois Democratic primary, in addition to the scandal-ridden Gus Savage, voters also turned out Charles Hayes, another black congressman and check-bouncer hitherto thought undefeatable—as important an omen to the Democrats as Richard Thornburgh's defeat was to Republicans.

Right now the repercussions have hit mostly Democrats. But the public disaffection with government is not likely to be all that discriminating, particularly vis-à-vis a Republican Administration that all too often is in cahoots with the Democratic establishment it was explicitly elected to oppose. The check scandal, coming just as George Bush was failing to get Congress to act on his March 20 deadline for his economic package, is his great opportunity, the second second-chance we all pray for but rarely get. This is an opening to define himself as a reform Republican against a Tammany Hall Democratic system. If he joins the fight, he has the chance to bring down the entire Democratic establishment and redefine American politics for decades to come; if he sits on the sidelines he will be sucked in with the rest.

Newt Gingrich sums it up well: "The President has to decide: Is he the crony of a corrupt capital or the courageous reformer? What frightens me is that they [the White House] don't seem to know." □

Down Negotiation Road

PETER TAYLOR

JOHANNESBURG

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk's convincing win in the South African referendum is a rare piece of good news for the Beloved Country. The 2 to 1 margin of victory was greater than most pundits had predicted, and it leaves the road to a negotiated settlement wide open. So far so good, but the result raises the question of whether the vanquished right wing will now resort to violence in order to sabotage the constitutional talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The leader of the segregationist Conservative Party, Andries Treurnicht, has always insisted that he will work within parliamentary means. But parliament itself is now sidelined by Codesa, de facto if not de jure. Dr. Treurnicht has refused to attend Codesa, on the grounds that his proposals for a "white homeland" would be laughed out of court by the African National Congress. And Mr. de Klerk has no intention of consulting white voters again before a new constitution is completed. The die is cast.

Mr. de Klerk is now, in one bound, free to cut a deal for an interim, power-sharing government, but South Africa's underlying problems are less easily dispatched. The preoccupation of the white, ice-rattling classes is a crime wave that has steadily intensified since talks with the ANC began two years ago. Barely a day goes by without a story of some old white couple on a smallholding being brutally murdered in the course of a burglary. For a country which was branded a "police state" in the pariah days, there are not that many police around. A force of some fifty thousand (about the same as New York City's) has to cope, in a population of forty million, with a murder rate five times America's.

As South Africans sit on the *stoep* in the evening listening to the sounds of the African night—burglar alarms going off, guard dogs howling, perhaps a police helicopter flying by—the more perceptive might also detect a distant but persistent clucking: the sound of chickens coming home to roost. White liberals are learning that reform means more than taking a gamble on de Klerk and giving the garden-boy his bus fare home.

When six thousand squatters were recently authorized to settle near the white liberal suburb of Bloubosrand, north of Johannesburg, yuppies in Paul Simon T-shirts built barricades to prevent them from entering. One resident put the liberal dilemma rather graphically: "Since this started, my son has been too frightened to go to school in case the squatters eat his pony." Another complained: "Why can't they build traditional mud huts in the bush and make money as a tourist attraction?" Add a recession which has caused widespread redundancies, and a drought that looks like being the worst in half a century, and you have all the ingredients for a sour and bewildered public.

The mood has not been helped by the fact that Mr. de Klerk was not asking whites to vote on a set of constitutional proposals—merely to endorse the dialogue with the ANC, and give him a free hand over the outcome.

Mr. Taylor was formerly the Sunday Telegraph*'s Johannesburg correspondent.*

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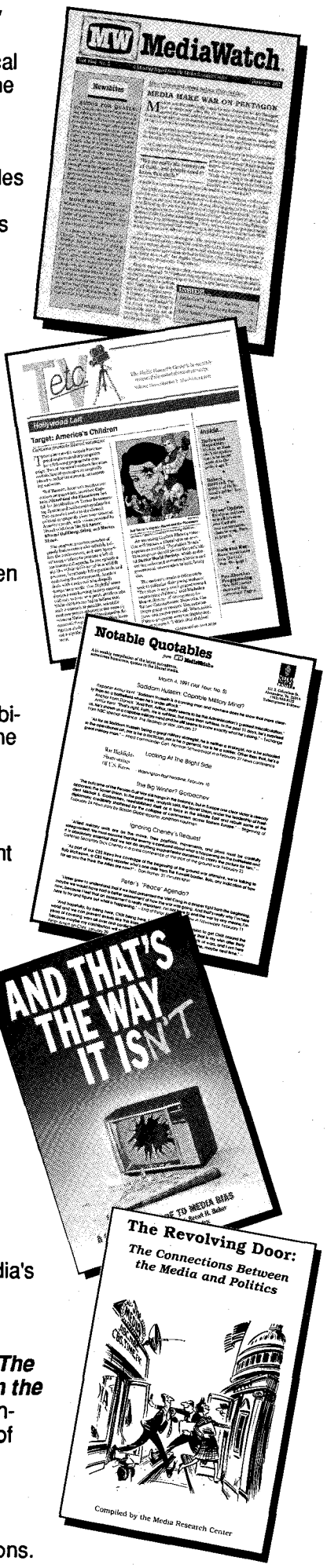
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The ostensible reason for the referendum was the defeat of the National Party at a by-election at Potchefstroom, but Mr. de Klerk had already realized the impracticality of concluding the Codesa talks and *then* telling the ANC that any agreement was subject to a white veto. It can certainly be argued, though, that the vote may weaken de Klerk's hand in negotiations, since he can no longer object that the white electorate will not tolerate radical change.

Even so, predictions of "civil war" seem to me to be wide of the mark, since neither the rejectionist white right wing nor the militant elements within the ANC have the capacity for military activity on a serious scale.

Hard-line Afrikaners draw their inspiration from the Battle of Blood River in 1838, at which a Boer commando of five hundred was attacked by ten thousand Zulus. Armed with rifles and cannon, the commando killed three thousand spear-carrying Zulus without taking any casualties. But the last time I attended a right-wing rally—at the Voortrekker Monument near Pretoria—the scene was distinctly unmilitaristic.

About fifty thousand people turned up, bringing folding chairs, garden parasols to fend off the sun, and equipment for barbecues. A Boer horse commando pranced in front of the stage to the Sousa march adopted by Monty Python's Flying Circus, while the whiff of sausages and hot dogs drifted across the sacred shrine. Toddlers in cute little neo-Nazi uniforms munched popcorn and cotton candy. It looked like a Nuremberg picnic.

Such bomb outrages and shootings as have been perpetrated in the name of the *Boerevolk* have been random affairs, the kind of thing dreamed up by a few "good ole boys" in a bar. The "military" parades of the khaki-clad AWB (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), with which Dr. Treurnicht formed a Faustian alliance in the referendum, are thuggish and frightening, but they also evoke a comic sense of *Springtime for Hitler*. The idea of a tightly disciplined army-in-waiting is largely a myth.

Neither is Afrikanerdom united in its call to arms—indeed, its very history is one of searing divisions. Afrikaners do not like to be reminded that by the end of the Boer War more Boers were fighting on the side of the British than against them. It is undoubtedly true that there are far-right sympathizers among the security forces and the police, but infiltration can work both ways. It would be surprising if Mr. de Klerk's intelligence services did not keep potential insurrectionists under the closest scrutiny.

An outbreak of right-wing defiance is inevitable, but it is likely to begin with selective industrial sabotage rather than terrorism. Conservatives have always bragged that their supporters can "pull the plugs" in power stations and other critical installations. Now would seem the appropriate time to put the theory to the test.

As for the ANC, its armed wing is probably the most incompetent guerrilla organization in the world. The most that Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) achieved over the years of the "liberation struggle" was a few tawdry township killings and a great deal of posturing. Not for nothing has the question of integrating these "freedom-fighters" into the South African Defense Force been left as the very last item on the Codesa agenda.

What can the outside world do? For the moment, leave it alone. It is an astonishing fact that, nearly two years after South Africa's ex-colonial neighbor, Namibia, became independent, six states of the U.S. and over twenty major U.S. cities still have legislation prohibiting trade and investment there. Namibia's impoverished black government is furious, but when I called the U.S. embassy in Pretoria, a diplomat sighed and said: "They just pass these things, and then they forget about them."

It must have felt good at the time. But as blacks and whites resume their difficult trek down Negotiation Road, help like that, South Africans can do without. □

Elections, Not a Moment Too Soon

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Fred Carlson

LONDON

TO SENSITIVE souls who care about truth, modesty, and the future of their country, elections are bound to be a disagreeable business, and never more so than when the result looks like being a very close-run thing. British opinion polls over many months have shown the Conservative and Labour Parties virtually neck-and-neck, with a bunch of smaller parties—the Liberal Democrats, the Ulster Unionists, the Scottish and the Welsh Nationalists—adding to the complexity of what may happen if neither of the leading parties gains a clear majority.

Both must jump an historically high fence in order to win. The Conservatives are seeking an unprecedented fourth consecutive term in office, and the obtuse argument that "it's time for a change" will inevitably carry some weight. The Labour Party, on the other hand, needs to swing more constituencies its way than have moved in any election since 1945. The kinds of voters being most ardently wooed are not those to whom sophisticated or principled arguments are very likely to appeal. Psephologists and other political junkies describe the position as "exciting."

The election campaign has been welcomed by others simply because it brings to an end the pre-election sparring which has been continuous ever since John Major succeeded Margaret Thatcher as prime minister 17 months ago. Day after day the media have treated as headline news what is plainly not news at all—the speeches

Mr. Lejeune is NR*'s longtime London correspondent.*

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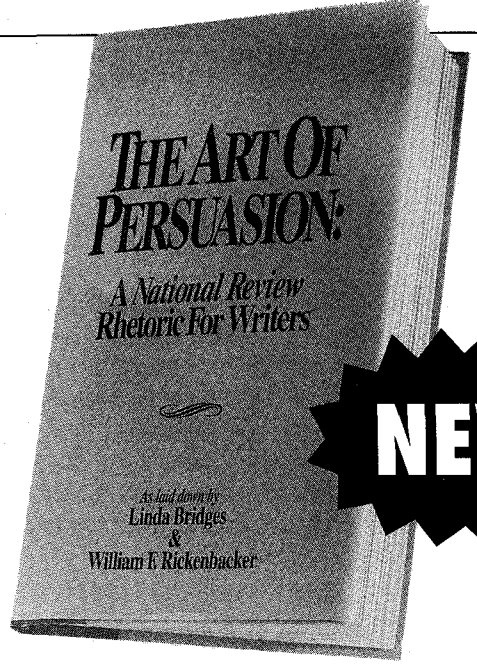
At Last, Your Guide To Writing With Clarity and Style



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of politicians attacking one another. In the name of "public service" (which is British-television-speak for giving the public what it doesn't want) there has been a steady diet of what a veteran political correspondent sourly described as "balanced propaganda."

In that sense, almost everybody will be glad to get the election over. Another cause for relief is that the country can hardly afford many more electoral bribes. The government has poured money into all manner of good and not-so-good causes, including a promise of £55 million to support Manchester's implausible bid to host the Olympic Games in the year 2000. The Labour Party has lavished promises of public money on everything from industrial training to the sponsorship of "dance." The Liberal Democrats frankly admit that "a little bit more tax" would be necessary to fund their proposals.

Meanwhile, the economy is still deep in recession. Relying on Treasury forecasts, repeatedly made, repeatedly falsified, of recovery just around the corner, John Major kept postponing the election in the hope of something that would turn the opinion polls decisively in the Conservatives' favor. Now he could put it off no longer.

His personal fate, or that of the Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock, is likely to be settled permanently on April 9. Mr. Kinnock and his two long-serving, uninspiring lieutenants, Roy Hattersley and Gerald Kaufman, are widely considered more of a handicap than a help to their party's chances. If they lose, they will not survive to fight again. As for Mr. Major, he is where he is for one reason only—to win the election. Those backbench Conservatives who supported the conspiracy against Mrs. Thatcher did so, not for the sake of John Major's blue eyes, but to gain (they thought) a better chance of hanging on to power. If he loses, he may well be replaced by Mrs. Thatcher's more colorful challenger, Michael Heseltine.

So the election is fateful for the two leaders. But how fateful is it for Britain? A conventional view sees the parties as less divided from each other now than ever before; Mrs. Thatcher's great achievement, we're told, is to have moved the center of the debate. Certainly, Neil Kinnock has striven to make his party respectable and electable by detaching it from the wilder excesses of its left wing: but Conservatives and Socialists act and think still on the basis of quite different political assumptions. The Socialists continue to believe in the redistribution of income and in every kind of social and economic intervention, and are obliged therefore to redefine (as Roy Hattersley has openly done) the concept of freedom. They are congenital disarmers, if no longer unilateralists, and in thrall to the labor unions. The Conservatives have proved very shaky in their championing of freedom, but at least their instincts lean that way. They have slashed the armed forces and condoned the intrusiveness of the state, but with a certain reluctance. As a columnist in the *Sunday Times* wrote, "All our 2½ great political parties promise to continue with the Tories' worst policies, but both oppositions say they will make the Tories' less bad ones worse."

On the considerable matter of Britain's place in the European Community, the Conservatives under John Major have at least dragged their feet in surrendering to Brussels, whereas the Labour Party, having reversed its position completely, is eager to accept the corporatist and protectionist attitudes of the European bureaucracy.

Taxing and spending are overwhelmingly the central issue of this election: and the Labour Party's continued failure to understand the motive and mechanics of wealth-creation would positively obstruct economic recovery. The government's own record is far from impeccable. Over the past three or four years, things have gone badly wrong—but the worst mistakes, including Britain's joining of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism, have been supported, not opposed, by the Labour Party.

Even under Mrs. Thatcher, the government failed to cut public spending; lower rates of income tax were more than balanced by higher Value Added Tax. Today the principles of Thatcherism—allegedly based on the careful profit-and-loss accounting of her father's shop in Grantham—are dead, as her economic advisor, Alan Walters, bitterly wrote the other day. Money has been poured into the welfare state. The poll tax, which caused riots in the streets precisely because it was fair, requiring a contribution from habitual freeloaders, has been abandoned.

If Mrs. Thatcher were still prime minister, would the Conservatives' electoral prospects be better or worse? We shall never know. Had she been available to stiffen President Bush's resolve when he flinched at the climax of the Gulf War, Saddam Hussein might have been toppled and Iraq's nuclear capacity destroyed: and Mrs. Thatcher, playing Boadicea again (always her strongest role), might have won an election in the aftermath.

Post-Thatcher Britain eerily resembles post-Reagan America—but without the stimulus of Pat Buchanan. When Mrs. Thatcher was overthrown, the Conservative establishment sank back, with audible satisfaction, into its old woolly ways. Some achievements remain. British industry is far more competitive than it used to be: trade-union militants have lost much of their power: inflation is at least recognized as a great evil. If the Conservatives do win this election, the prospect for those of Thatcherite persuasion is mildly depressing. If they lose, the prospect is deeply depressing. □

Saint Pat's, Booze, and Ballots

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

CHICAGO

IN THE space of four days in Chicago, there were two St. Patrick's Day parades, three St. Patrick's celebrations, and one election day, which fell on the actual St. Patrick's Day. Thus for the very first time, since there is no such thing as a dry March 17, both saloons and polling places were open on St. Patrick's Day. The results showed it.

The high point was undoubtedly parade number 2, the South Side Irish parade held on March 15, the day after the Mayor's official Loop parade. Since the mayor had not endorsed a candidate—not even Bill Clinton, who had broadly hinted that Daley would make

Mr. Coyne, formerly a White House speechwriter, works for a major corporation in Chicago.

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an admirable running-mate—presidential candidates were not invited to parade number 1.

For the South Side parade, however, Clinton, Paul Tsongas, and Jerry Brown all turned out, to take advantage of full and free media coverage. Brown, unencumbered by heavy security or a retinue of hangers-on, roamed the crowd at will, shaking hands, trading wisecracks, and grinning crookedly like a malign leprechaun. Tsongas, who seemed overwhelmed by all the friendliness on what might have been his last happy day this year, seemed on occasion to skip, waving his hands and at one point hopping awkwardly into the air in some uncoordinated Attic version of a Gaelic clog step.

For the most part, the crowd was good-natured and receptive. However, Bill Clinton—seldom visible because of the security personnel, party functionaries, and media people who totally surrounded him—drew the loudest cheer of the day when a horse ridden by one of the flying squad of mounted police tried to step on him. More troubling to his supporters were the shouts of "draft dodger" and "womanizer." (The week before, Frank Garrison, head of the Michigan AFL-CIO, opined that the next shoe to drop on Clinton "will have a high heel.")

The parade also had a formidable contingent of Bush supporters. Missing was Pat Buchanan, who had inexplicably chosen instead to address a congregation of Baptist teetotalers in Bay City, Michigan, home of the Museum of the Great Lakes. Had he marched, says *Chicago Sun-Times* political editor Steve Neal, "he would have been greeted as if he were the Wild Colonial Boy." But instead of roaring with the green—and stealing a great block of media time—Buchanan spent the parade day of the Saint for whom he was named with the Baptists of Bay City.

Many here believe that Buchanan was too quick to write off Illinois and his natural constituencies in the state—especially the Catholic Irish, and those disgruntled anti-tax, anti-abortion, pro-education voters who supported insurgent Steve Baer against Jim Edgar in the Republican gubernatorial primary in 1990. These voters are, presumably, still there, and still waiting for someone to speak for them as Baer did. Instead, Buchanan sought to find his nucleus among the blue-collar workers in Michigan, where the economic distress is palpable.

It was among those workers that George Wallace made his most dramatic demonstration, and it was those workers and others like them that the Nixon–Agnew team weaned away from Wallace. The process, as Agnew described it, was one of "positive polarization." It worked to the benefit of the Republican Party and, many of us would argue, of the nation as a whole. And Pat Buchanan was one of its most eloquent architects and articulators.

But that's another story. Today, at least for the moment, social concerns in states like Michigan have been subordinated to the most basic economic concerns, and the constituency Buchanan courted is the constituency Jerry Brown won.

Chris Miles

"I went to New Hampshire and I'll tell you what I saw," said Buchanan. "I thought I was back in the 1930s." But when auto-workers in Michigan look back to the Thirties they see Herbert Hoover, and it's FDR they're looking for. And that's where Jerry Brown fills the bill—or, for that matter, any bill. He knows the old New Deal lingo; and he also knows the New Wave stuff.

Buchanan is weighted down with principle; Brown travels light, running the perfect insurgency campaign. He carries just a few bare-bones proposals—his flat-rate 13 per cent income tax, for instance—that sound plausible and are easily understood, along with a minimal entourage, his 800 number, and a generalized and adaptable attack on corruption of all kinds, whether venal (Congress), or venereal (Clinton), or both (Clinton again).

Brown moves fast and thinks quickly, in Michigan linking the jobs issue to the trade agreement, which he described as "a jobs program for Mexico. What we need," said Brown, "is a jobs program for America."

Meanwhile, the Bush forces opened up on Buchanan, pointing out in television ads that he owns a Mercedes and that he once called American cars "lemons." As part of the campaign, male voters were mailed a mocked-up photo of Buchanan leaning on—you guessed it—an oversized lemon. Buchanan protested, claiming that the car belonged to his wife and that he also owned a Cadillac. But the America First image was damaged, and auto-workers in Flint reacted angrily.

There is no doubt that Buchanan's campaign was badly damaged by the Illinois and Michigan primaries. As for Tsongas, his poor showing meant the end of his effort—whereas Brown will bedevil and bushwhack Clinton from now to California.

And the other results? The incumbency issue was a wash, with redistricting playing at least as much of a role as anti-incumbent fever. Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, who entered Congress when General Eisenhower occupied the White House, and 11-term incumbent Phil Crane were both challenged principally on the issue of their incumbency. Both won hands down.

The headlines, however, were made by the defeat of Senator Alan Dixon, a defeat predicted by no one, whether journalist, pollster, politician, or pundit. Most surprised of all was Al Hofeld, a Chicago lawyer who spent some $5 million of his own money to make his face known and loathed on television, portraying Dixon as "Al the Pal," a tool of special interests. For the first time in his career, Dixon began to run negative ads in response. And as the two men flailed away, Carol Moseley Braun, Cook County Recorder of Deeds, quietly walked away with the nomination.

Up against Miss Braun in November will be Rich Williamson, a longtime conservative who has held posts in the Reagan and Bush Administrations. Williamson is expected to run a strongly conservative race against the liberal Miss Braun, who decided to

(Continues on page 58)

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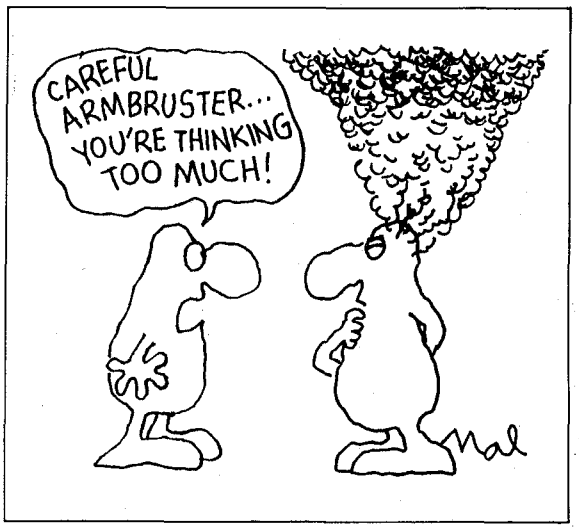

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"Well, see you next month—don't work too hard."

No Tickee, No Shirtee

As Bush and Baker make it clear
(While covering each other's rear)
That billions flow when building stops,
Shamir crescendos like the Pops.

W. H. VON DREELE

"Read my lips—no more broccoli!"

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After Marxism, What?

SOCIALISM BY ANY OTHER NAME

The last two hundred years pitted freedom against liberty: the freedom to conform to the General Will, or true liberty in an ordered society. Socialists don't want to admit it.

DAVID HOROWITZ

IN A SPEECH to a meeting of Democratic Russia, given in Moscow June 1, 1991, Boris Yeltsin said: "Our country has not been lucky. . . . It was decided to carry out this Marxist experiment on us . . . It has simply pushed us off the path the world's civilized countries have taken. . . . In the end, we proved that there is no place for this idea."

For the Left outside the former Soviet Union, Yeltsin's conclusion—and that of his countrymen—is still inconceivable. What is troubling to the Left is not the catastrophe of socialism so much as the idea that this history should culminate in disenchantment, that an understanding of this century of revolutionary grief should lead, finally, to conservative conclusions: reconciliation to the finite parameters of the human condition; recognition of the unavoidable conflicts and everyday insufficiencies that make up ordinary social unhappiness. In other words: acceptance of who and what we are. What troubles the radical heart, finally, is the sense of limits that such understanding provokes.

Otherwise, large contingents of the Left are now prepared to concede a great deal: the bankruptcy of Marxism, the evils of Communism, even the taint that socialism has incurred by its genetic involvement with both. But such leftists still want to know why these concessions are not enough, why they must give up the noble ambitions behind the tarnished ideas—not just the socialist past, but the socialist future; not just the totalitarian temptation, but the radical cause. This is the prospect that repels them. It is conceding the argument to their lifelong opponents. It is the thought of becoming one of *them*: not just a chastened missionary of the radical cause, but a counter-revolutionary of the Right. To abandon a lifetime's loyalties, to become a *conservative*: where is the romance in that? What would remain of their progressive hopes, their quest for true equality and social justice? These are the unthinkable thoughts that bind them to the tattered ends of a discredited creed; that make them still—and despite all—soldiers in the vanguard of the political Left.

In What Army?

INDEED, what is this vanguard, now that its brave new world has collapsed? And what remains of the division that has so defined our political lives? The terms Left and Right are more than just a vestigial homage to 1789. These terms identify the parties that have contended over the fate of modernity ever since. It is through them that we locate our forebears in the struggles for justice and human freedom, that we assess our own humanity and measure who we are.

Or have, until now. For we have indeed reached a turning point. The history of revolutionary modernity is now coming to a close. The tearing down of the Berlin Wall marked the end of this epoch as surely as the fall of the Bastille marked its beginning. Like all endings, it changes our understanding of what went before.

Thus, it is impossible to console oneself any more with the illusion that socialism might have worked if this path or that variant had only been tried. Yet no one who continues to identify with the Left really accepts this truth. In our lifetime, the revolutions of the Left have created despotisms and oppressions that dwarf all others on human record. Yet, to the diehards of the radical culture, "Left" still evokes the idealism of

Mr. Horowitz is co-author with Peter Collier of Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts about the Sixties, *and co-editor with Mr. Collier of a new magazine,* Heterodoxy.

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a "progressive" cause, while "Right" remains synonymous with social reaction.

But the socialist idea can no longer be allowed to function as a blank check for the violence and injustices of the efforts to achieve it. We can no longer hold up the socialist fantasy, even in retrospect, to justify the destructive assaults on existing societies that, however noxious, were less oppressive than the revolutionary "solutions" that followed their demise. The failed "experiments" of the Left must be seen instead as what they were: bloody exercises in civil nihilism, violent pursuits of empty hopes, revolutionary *actes gratuits*.

Because they were doomed from their conception and destructive by design, these revolutionary gestures stand condemned by morality and justice. If there was a "party of humanity" in the civil wars the Left provoked, it was a party on the other side: the party of those who defended democratic process and civil order against the barbarism that revolution entailed.

The term "counter-revolutionary" is thus a litmus test of their failure to understand the history they have lived. A hundred million people have been slaughtered in the revolutions of the Left, while millions more have been buried alive. Beyond the walls of their gulags, whole cultures were desecrated, civilizations destroyed, and generations deprived of the barest essentials of a tolerable life. And yet the epithet "counter-revolutionary" still strikes progressives as a term of opprobrium. Instead of what this history shows it to be: a name for moral sanity. A term for resistance to the epic depredations of dreamers like them.

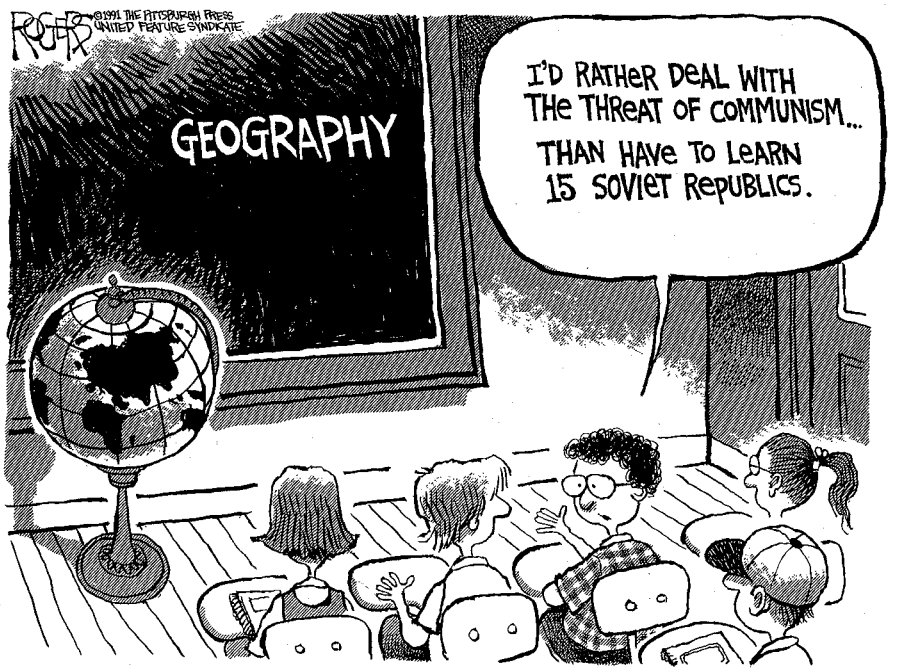
The very word "counter-revolutionary" was invented by the virtuous terrorists of the French Revolution to stigmatize their opponents on the way to the guillotine. The first "counter-revolutionaries" were in fact the very People in whose name the revolution had triumphed, the peasants of the Vendée, a quarter of a million of whom were slaughtered in the Jacobin Terror of Year II.

The peasants of the Vendee were not opposed to the changes of 1789—the constitutional reforms of the Monarchy, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the enfranchisement of the Third Estate—but to the revolutionary dictatorship that followed. It was the new liberated order, the Republic of Virtue and the Cult of Reason (and the Reign of Terror required to make the citizenry virtuous and reasonable), that inspired their resistance.

Abroad, the chief apostle of the counter-revolution—the English liberal Edmund Burke—was also not an opponent of political reform and the establishment of a republic, but of the radical attempt to *transform* society and recreate it *de novo*. And it was this totalitarian ambition—to reject the past and remake humanity—that provoked counter-revolutionaries ever after.

The Leninist creators of the Soviet Union were the self-conscious heirs of the Jacobin vanguard. In exterminating the "enemies of the people," the Leninists found the term *counter-revolutionary* indispensable. They used it first to discredit the liberals who opposed their coup against the democracy that had replaced the Czar. They applied it then to their Menshevik rivals, then to anarchists, Kronstadters, Oppositionists, Trotskyists, Bukharinites, even anti-Stalin Stalinists, and, ultimately, to every recalcitrant soul who stood in the path of their revolutionary plan. Like their Jacobin heroes, the Leninists also created an empire, Napoleonic in scope. But seventy years after its creation, the subjects of this empire rose en masse in the largest counter-revolution in human history.

Nearly two hundred years earlier, the reactionary philosopher Joseph de Maistre quarreled with the term the Jacobins had applied to their political opponents. "The re-establishment of the monarchy, which is called *Counter-revolution*," he wrote in 1797, "will not be a *contrary revolution*, but the *contrary of the Revolution*." Reactionaries like Maistre were not supporters of 1789, but defenders of the *ancien régime*. They stood for the *status quo ante*.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I'D RATHER DEAL WITH THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM... THAN HAVE TO LEARN 15 SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Bearing this in mind, look now at the pivotal events of 1989 and 1991. The mass upheavals throughout the Soviet empire and the dramatic August finale in Moscow were not the contrary of the revolution of 1917, but a true *counter-revolution*. They aspired not just to the restoration of the old regime, but to a new order. The future they invoked was an antithesis of the one the Leninists had imposed, and this antithesis was precisely that revolutionary future—bourgeois and democratic, capitalist and individualist—whose paradigm Burke himself had defended in America in 1776.

Looking back on this two-hundred-year history, therefore, we can see that it is not simply a conflict between Revolution and *ancien régime* (the paradigm in which counter-revolution is synonymous with reaction,

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and revolution with social progress). It is characterized, instead, by the conflict of two revolutionary traditions, two paths to the modern world.

The cold war, which is often presented as a power conflict with no particular historical dimension, is more accurately seen as the climactic phase of the conflict between these traditions. The radical ethos of the French Revolution became the wellspring of all socialist revolts against bourgeois order, culminating in the establishment of the Soviet empire. The libertarian ethos of the American Revolution inspired their conservative opponents and charted the path of a counter-revolution based on individual rights, free markets, and democratic constitutions. Confronting the Soviet Revolution, the societies that followed this path formed an alliance of free nations, whose triumph in the cold war has now brought the totalitarian era to a close.

Those on the Left who do not want to face the implications of their historic defeat prefer to be puzzled by straightforward events. The triumph of the Right in this riptide of freedom is so unthinkable to them that they speak of the counter-revolutions in the Eastern bloc as an impenetrable enigma. Because the democrats in the Soviet Union are called "radicals" and the Communists are called "conservatives," they conclude that we have arrived at a new "end of ideology." The very concepts of Left and Right have lost their meaning, and a new political vocabulary is required.

But is it? Only if one insists on viewing this history through the political prism of a single tradition. Only if one wants to avoid a reckoning with the socialist defeat.

But if we reject this reasoning, if we recognize the existence of two traditions—liberal and radical—in mortal conflict, the difficulty vanishes. When these two traditions confront each other across the Iron Curtain created by their historic conflict, Left and Right become mirror images. Within the Soviet bloc, "Left" signifies counter-revolution (capitalism, liberalism, democracy), while Right means the contrary of the revolution, defense of the conservative status quo (the Marxist dictatorship, Communism, socialism). In the West, it is just the opposite: the status quo of the revolution, defended by conservatives, is liberal, democratic, and free. To be conservative within a revolutionary tradition simply means to conserve the paradigm peculiar to that revolution. To be conservative in the context of the democratic West means to preserve the progressive, liberal, and free-market framework that is its historic achievement and to act on the non-utopian premises that are its philosophical foundation.

What Does It Mean to Be Left?

AND TO BE radical—to be Left—within this liberal framework? For two hundred years the Leftist counter-revolution has meant permanent war against bourgeois society—against the culture of individual rights and political pluralism, against the private-property foundations of the liberal state. To have been on the Left is to have been at war with the only democratic and free societies the world has ever known. It has been a war conducted in the name of ideals that cannot be implemented and a future that cannot work, and has brought misery and oppression of incalculable dimensions to uncountable millions.

Many Leftists will object. They do not want to be put in the same political bed as Leninists and Marxists and other totalitarians. They call themselves democratic socialists (making the assumption that there is a real-world meaning to this self-validating phrase). They have been mindful of the Soviet tragedies and modified their creed.

It is true, for example, that since the collapse of the Soviet economy, many "democratic socialists" are eager to concede that markets cannot be so easily discarded. On occasion, they even allow themselves to express the thought that perhaps "socialism" can only be, in the end, the term for a more humane form of the capitalist enterprise. And yet, there remains something so visceral in their identification with the socialist cause, so passionate in their belief in a re-made world, that they refuse what would seem the honorable course: to admit they were wrong, and to give up at last the radical ghost. Instead they insist (and with the same smugness) that socialism remains the name of their dream.

In the end, the concessions they are ready to make now seem less a gesture of self-reform than a strategy for avoiding further defeat. Consider the new name they have adopted for their project: *market socialism*. How quickly they have appropriated a construct that they once condemned when the life chances of millions hung in the balance. Whole libraries were written by social democrats, as well as Leninists, to prove that market economy is the root of our afflictions. Yet now they rush to enlist the market as a remedy for socialism's ills. If only they do not have to give up their faith.

Let us examine what it means, then, to hold on to this faith, to be radically Left within the political tradition of the liberal West. This Left may be said to have begun with a famous passage in Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality*:

> The first man, who after enclosing a piece of ground, took it into his head to say, this is mine, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society.

To which Rousseau exclaimed, in words that reverberate through the passages of subsequent history:

> How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how many misfortunes and horrors, would that man have saved the human species, who pulling up the stakes or filling up the ditches should have cried to his fellows: Beware of listening to this impostor; you are lost, if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong equally to us all, and the earth itself to nobody.

For the next two centuries, this idea served as inspiration for the radical onslaught against liberal democracy in the West. Indeed, the charge that private property corrupted humanity became the basic proposition of all attempts to construct a radical future in

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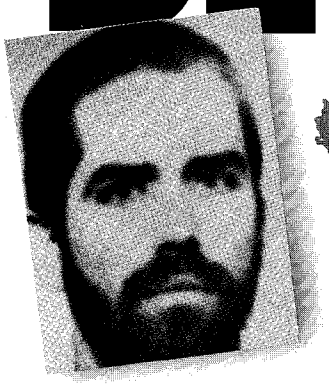
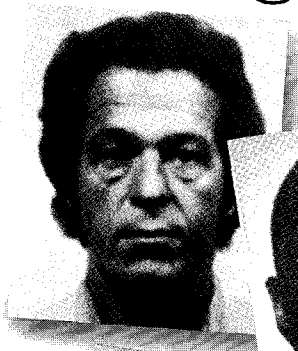
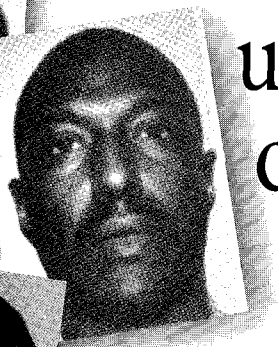
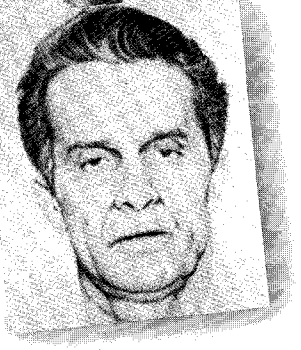
LET ARMED CRIMINALS BE WARNED.



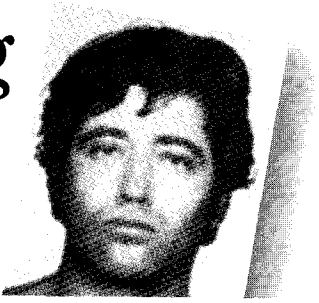
Let the murderers and rapists and robbers and street gangs and drug dealers and anyone else who uses guns in violent crime know this:







Law-abiding Americans everywhere are banding together to *put you away.*



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LET'S PUT THE JUSTICE BACK IN THE FAILED CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

TODAY YOU HAVE A GREATER CHANCE OF BEING A VICTIM OF VIOLENT CRIME THAN OF BEING HURT IN A TRAFFIC ACCIDENT.

CASE Carl Wayne Buntion: 11 felony convictions, 9 prison terms, serves 15 months of 15-year sentence for sexually assaulting a child, released on 6th parole. Weeks later he murders Houston police officer Jim Irby.

WITH A 95% CHANCE OF NEVER DOING *ANY* JAIL TIME, CRIMINALS HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE.

CASE Samuel Barnett: 20 convictions dating from 1969, serves half of 12-year sentence for raping 9-year-old girl, released. Days later he rapes the same girl again, now 15, in the same East Oakland garage.

A SERIOUS CRIME IN THE U.S. WILL COST THE CRIMINAL AN AVERAGE OF 8.5 DAYS IN PRISON.*

CASE Alan Rose: Shoots wife, serves 7 months of 7-year sentence, out on probation in Florida. Shoots and kills his girlfriend.

4 OUT OF 5 STATE PRISON INMATES ARE REPEAT OFFENDERS.

CASE Donald Leroy Evans: Long arrest record dating from 1974, serves 5 years of 15-year sentence for sexual assault, paroled. Arrested in Louisiana, claims to have killed 60 people in 10 years across 20 states.

38 STATES ARE NOW UNDER COURT ORDER TO RELEASE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PRISONERS.

CASE Raymond Paul Wisecarver: Serves 4 years of 8-year sentence for voluntary manslaughter, released. Arrested in California for 60 armed robberies in a 7-month crime spree.

2 OUT OF 3 RELEASED CRIMINALS WILL BE ARRESTED AGAIN WITHIN 36 MONTHS.

CASE James Pough: Charged with manslaughter in 1971, plea-bargains to aggravated assault, serves 5 years on probation, criminal record expunged. His 1990 suicidal shooting rampage in Florida claims 9 lives.

PROOF OF TOTAL COLLAPSE:

70% of all violent crimes are committed by only 6% of all violent criminals. More than half are released to the streets awaiting trial. Of those, 20% escape and 16% commit another crime while released. Finally, for every 100 serious crimes committed, only 5 criminals go to jail.

* Average U.S. prison term adjusted for likelihood of arrest, prosecution and imprisonment.

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HERE'S HOW:

CrimeStrike.

Introducing the National Rifle Association's CrimeStrike. It's a new NRA division just as tough as the NRA. Its mission is to use NRA power to put real justice back in our criminal justice system. And to put armed violent criminals behind bars.

Why the NRA?

Because armed criminals aren't just the greatest threat to your life and family. They're also the greatest threat to your Second Amendment right to own a gun. It is their violent misuse of firearms that makes *your* firearms the target for gun-ban groups, anti-gun politicians and the media.

Enough is enough.

Together we can give victims, prosecutors and police the united voice and powerful machinery of the NRA to fix the system. The CrimeStrike coalition of law-abiding Americans — gun owners and non-gun owners alike — *can save lives and reduce armed criminal violence.*

How CrimeStrike Works.

City by city, the CrimeStrike task force will get tough wherever the system is soft on crime. Our team of veteran law enforcement professionals will mobilize the power of publicity and grassroots advocacy to:

- Identify armed repeat offenders and demand just punishment.
- Disclose conviction and sentencing records of lenient prosecutors and judges.
- Expose plea-bargainers who downgrade charges against armed criminals.
- Reveal parole boards members who release violent criminals to our streets.
- Unseat politicians who oppose mandatory sentencing and building adequate prison space.
- Overturn laws and rulings that favor criminals.
- Lobby for adequate manpower, equipment and resources for local police departments.

The NRA does not advocate vigilantism, armed encounters with criminals, interfering with police duties, or violating any law. CrimeStrike simply unites victims, prosecutors, police and honest citizens like you to stop the violent collapse of the criminal justice system and to protect your right to own a firearm.

If you're behind us, join us. Call 1-800-538-4NRA now.

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PUT ARMED CRIMINALS AWAY. KEEP YOUR GUN RIGHTS FREE.

SUPPORT CRIMESTRIKE BY JOINING THE NRA NOW.

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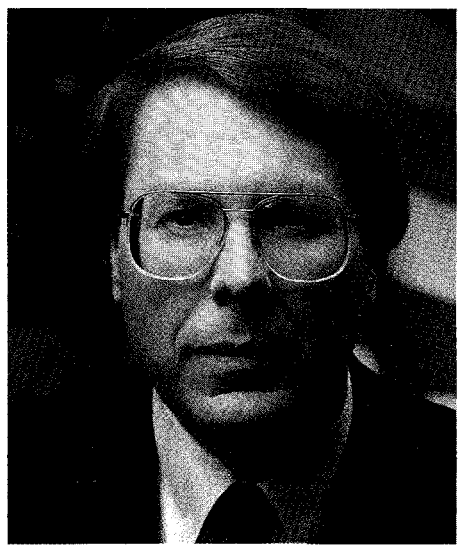
(You may charge your $25 annual membership fee to your Visa or MasterCard, or we can bill you later.)

A Message From NRA's Chief Executive Officer.

It's time to fight back. And you know the NRA fights to win.

So let the murderers and rapists and robbers and street gangs and drug dealers and anyone else who uses guns in crime be warned:



Law-abiding Americans everywhere are demanding the criminal justice system *put violent criminals away.*

If you think CrimeStrike will work, support us. If you want it to work, *join us.*

Wayne LaPierre
Chief Executive Officer
National Rifle Association of America

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice Special Report, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983"; U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Violent Crime in the United States" published 1991; Morgan O. Reynolds, Ph.D., Texas A&M University National Center for Policy Analysis, "Crime Pays, But So Does Imprisonment," March 1990; Dr. Paul Blackman, Ph.D., "Crime and Violence," 1988, quoting *U.S News & World Report*, March 1988, based on U.S. Department of Justice statistics; *Police Chief* magazine, March 1988, based on U.S. Department of Justice statistics.

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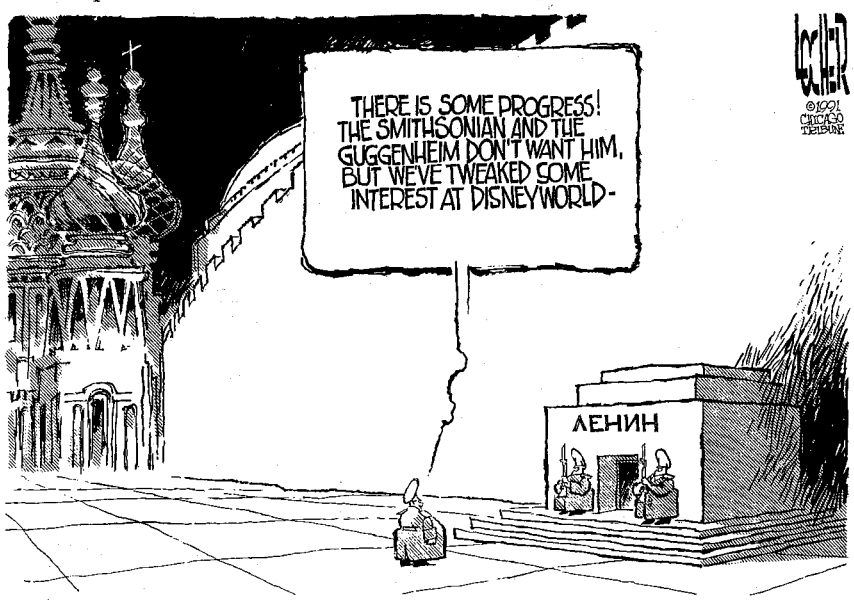
which "socially created" evils, like inequality and injustice, would be relegated to the museum of human antiquities.

Two centuries later, the relentless unraveling of these socialist schemes has shifted the onus of Rousseau's question. Now we must ask: *How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how many misfortunes and horrors, would the human species have been spared, had the world not listened to this radical impostor when he assaulted private property—the very foundation of liberty—while invoking the unlimited powers of the state to make men virtuous and equal?*

This question now marks the dividing line between Left and Right. For Rousseau, as for the radicals who followed him, society is the root of human oppression. "Man was born free, yet is everywhere in chains." The radical's goal is the transformation of society that will liberate the "authentic" human self. But the history of socialism has now shown (as conservatives always warned it would) that humanity liberated from the claims of property and the disciplines of a market order, from religious constraint and the rule of law, is a monster of barbarism and atavistic evil.


THERE IS SOME PROGRESS! THE SMITHSONIAN AND THE GUGGENHEIM DON'T WANT HIM, BUT WE'VE TWEAKED SOME INTEREST AT DISNEYWORLD-
ЛЕНИН
©1991 CHICAGO TRIBUNE

For the counter-revolution of the Right, the truth revealed about humanity in society is exactly the opposite of the Rousseauian claim: society is not merely the suppressor of human nature, but its faithful reflector; not merely its corrupter, but its civilizer as well. "What is government," an American founder wrote, "but a reflection on human nature?" And: "If men were angels, there would be no need for government." Man is not born free, but a lifelong slave to his unruly passions. It is only the civilizing limits of the social contract that can liberate natural, anti-social man into the constitutive orders of a relatively humane and productive life.

This is the pragmatic realism that informs the American paradigm, and its argument is summarized in Madison's celebrated discussion of political factions in *Federalist* #10. All the divisions of class, gender, and race, which the egalitarians of the Left propose to level and eradicate, are finally the problems of Madisonian faction. In defining its approach to these problems, therefore, *Federalist* #10 also defines the paradigm of the conservative Right:

> There are two methods of curing the mischiefs of faction: the one by removing its causes; the other, by controlling its effects.
>
> There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction: the one, by destroying the liberty which is essential to its existence; the other by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests.

In this passage, the history of the last two centuries is distilled in two propositions. The radical is determined to remove the root causes of human division and consequent suffering; the conservative is content to try to manage these conflicts, to contain the effects of evils that are integral to our humanity. In the radical impulse to redeem humanity, the conservative sees a primal threat to human liberty. For the determination to eradicate the causes of social conflict, to make society one and indivisible, is nothing less than the totalitarian ambition. It is the promise (in Rousseau's revealing formulation) *to force men to be free.*

Writing before the French Revolution, and thus before the advent of the modern Left, Madison was skeptical that any faction would actually propose to control the consciousness of others in order to create a unity of interest and equality of condition. To Madison such a program was simply impractical. Human reason was fallible, and as long as there was liberty, humanity's opinions would remain diverse. Moreover, human faculties and talents themselves differed from birth. From this diversity flowed inevitable inequalities and, ultimately, the rights of property, which formed an "insuperable obstacle" to the achievement of any uniformity (and/or harmony) of interests. But what to Madison was impossible and a threat to liberty became a necessary goal to the modern Left.

Ever since the French Revolution, radical "freedom" and conservative "liberty" have opposed each other as the defining values of Left and Right. Radicals have invoked freedom as the power of self-realization and social unity. In practice, this has invariably meant the surrender of individual autonomy to collective truth and the oppressive alchemy of the General Will. For the conservative, liberty is the relief from power. It consists in the civilizing limits of social order, and negative restraints on the political state.

The conservative goal is thus democratic, but circumspect and modest. Better to live with some injustices

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than, by seeking perfect justice, create a world with none. This is the political lesson etched with blood on the historical ledger of the last two hundred years, the lesson that the Left refuses to learn. It is this refusal that makes radicals the true and dangerous reactionaries of the modern world.

Through their historical amnesia and cultural domination, radicals have been able to hijack the vocabulary of political discourse, to appropriate the terms "democratic" and "progressive" (and now even "liberal" and "market"). But the real character of the radical project remains stubbornly the same. It is the antithesis to the American paradigm. It is an opposition so fundamental that even those revisionists who accept a part of the democratic achievement reveal themselves profound and dedicated adversaries of the American founding and its revolutionary path.

This is nowhere better illustrated than in the last work of Michael Harrington, America's most articulate democratic socialist. Harrington wrestled all his life with the perplexing legacies of his political commitment, and his works record a dogged if doomed effort to accommodate ideas that would rescue left-wing theory from its intellectual and moral impasse.

Completed in 1989, while the author was ill with a terminal cancer, the last chapter in this effort appeared posthumously under the title *Socialism: Past and Future*. Written in the shadow of Communist collapse, it was an attempt to re-assert the socialist claim to be "the hope for human freedom and justice."

Like generations of socialists before him, Harrington regarded the French Revolution as a compromised triumph, achieving equality only in the political sphere. To "complete" the Revolution by extending it into the economic realm was the socialist task:

> . . . The [bourgeois revolution] opened up *possibilities* of freedom and justice, not inevitabilities. After all, the rulers of the system were, more often than not, horrified by the unintended potential of their own magnificent accomplishment. They were terrified that civil rights for the people . . . would mean an end of property rights for the elite.

To protect their privilege, these ruling classes contrived to prevent the people from acting on their common interests. According to Harrington, the very pinnacle of this cynicism was reached by the Founding Fathers when they devised the keystone of the American paradigm. "All this was theorized," he wrote, "with stunning clarity in the Tenth Federalist Paper of James Madison, in one of the greatest defenses of human manipulation in the history of political theory."

In short, the truly revolutionary formulation of *Federalist* #10, the division of powers implemented in the Constitution and, ever since, the great bulwark of American freedom, is condemned by Harrington as a cynically contrived *obstacle* to freedom. The task of the socialist revolution is to destroy this obstacle.

Thus the final word of America's most flexible social democrat is only the latest radical declaration of war on the American idea. So consistent, through all these two hundred years of revolutionary tragedy, has the radical assault remained.

At War with Liberalism

TO BE a Leftist, then, is to be at war with the two most profoundly liberating achievements of modern history: the liberal state and the liberal economy. These are the twin pillars of what Friedrich Hayek—a socialist who had second thoughts—called the Great Society, and which he described as a spontaneous, "extended order of human cooperation." Such a society is the product not of vanguard schemes like the socialist design, but of a long process of piecemeal adjustments that eventually lead to more productive and humane institutions. Capitalist democracy (flawed even as humanity is flawed) is the highest stage of social evolution.

Socialism, by contrast, belongs in Hayek's view to the pre-history of mankind. Far from being a progressive conception, the socialist ethic is drawn from instinctual sources, and represents the primitive morality of pre-industrial formations, the clan and the tribe, which had to be overcome in order to realize the great wealth-making potentialities of market societies. Modern socialism is thus the return of the repressed. Its values—equality, cooperation, unity—are the survival codes of small, vulnerable groups with knowable goals and shared interests. But the morality of tribal communities proves disastrous when applied to complex economies that depend on geographically dispersed factors of production. In the modern context, the tribal ethos produces social atavisms—the paternalistic politics, fratricidal nationalisms, and economic despotisms that have kept large regions of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Central Europe trapped in brutal poverty and oppression.

For a long time, the reactionary tribal ethos of socialism was concealed in the universalist membrane of the Marxist movement. But the collapse of Communism has disintegrated the Marxist idea and fragmented the culture of the international Left. The result is a proliferation of post-Marxian theories of revolution that no longer base themselves on economic class, but on gender, race, and even "sexual orientation." These new ideologies are not so new, however, that they depart from the basic impulse of the radical project. They all share the Rousseauian desire to redefine and repossess the world in terms of a collective idea of self. "An atavistic longing after the life of the noble savage," as Hayek has noted, "is the main source of the collectivist tradition."

Thus, the post-Marxian Left has begun its career by launching an all-out assault on the third great achievement of modern history, the liberal community itself. This community, whose paradigm is America, is founded in a universal compact that transcends the multicultural particularisms of blood and soil. America is the unique crystallization of an idea of nationality residing in a shared commitment to universal principles and pluralistic values. This creed is the culmination of

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an evolution that extends backward in time to Jerusalem and Athens and Rome. It encapsulates lessons that were accumulated through practice and acquired by faith, that are inscribed in the teachings of sacred tradition and the institutions of secular law. These traditions (as it happens, Judaeo-Christian traditions) and these institutions (in fact, bourgeois-democratic institutions) have led us to the truths that are self-evident, and on which our freedom finally depends.

Two hundred years after the American founding, the agenda of the radical Left is the deconstruction of the idea of American nationality. The agenda of "conservatives"—anti-Communists, libertarians, defenders of private property—remains its preservation. □

Why Socialism Refuses to Die

ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

THE immediate reaction to the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe was that morally and intellectually socialism was now bankrupt. But it did not take long for a counteroffensive to begin. One heard the argument that the "barbaric Russians" had never properly understood the lofty humanitarianism of Karl Marx, that Stalin had perverted the sublime ideals of Lenin.

The disintegration of the USSR did not spell the end of the socialist creed, of the socialist parties, or even of socialist convictions and tendencies within non-socialist political movements. (Some benighted people flirt with "social democracy," unaware that it was the radical wing of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party that staged the October Revolution in 1917 in St. Petersburg.) For this continuance of the socialist menace there are the four distinct reasons: 1) human nature, 2) the religious crisis, 3) the political structure of the Western liberal democracies, and 4) fear of the painful adjustments ahead.

Let us start with human nature and its bifurcation. We all have two innate drives. One we share with the animal kingdom; it is the collectivist bent toward iden-

Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's Leftism Revisited *was recently issued by Regnery Gateway.*

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tity, the pleasure derived from the company of persons of the same age, sex, race, ethnic character, tastes, political convictions and mentality. This bent, if dominant, makes people uncomfortable in the presence of diversity and inequality, of superiority and inferiority, categories favored by the other drive within us, the quest for and delight in variety, which is purely human and makes of us travelers and explorers, and to which we owe our Western culture and civilization. All depends upon which drive gains the upper hand, whether we prize personality and freedom higher or the herd instinct and ant-hill monotony. Western history has been characterized by the rise of identitarian and egalitarian ideas ever since 1789 (not 1776: there was no American Revolution in that year, merely an American War of Independence). The ideologies of the French, Russian, and German Revolutions were all motivated by the drive for "identity" and equality within a specific domain—to be established or upheld by forcible assimilation, deportation, or extermination.

When Harold Laski said that socialism is the logical conclusion of democracy he was at least half right. What he had in mind was perhaps not the liberal democratic synthesis which today dominates in most Western countries. Yet, the joining of the liberal principle (in its classic, freedom-emphasizing sense) with the democratic dogma (equality and majority rule) is an honest but unsuccessful attempt to unite two opposites: freedom and equality. Alexis de Tocqueville saw this clearly, as did all the great genuine liberals down to Montalembert, Acton, Mises, and Hayek. Tocqueville also realized that the egalitarian principle, combined with the parties' desire to make the citizens "happy," could introduce step by step a "mild tyranny," so unknown in history that he could not name it, he had to describe it. And his description is a prophetic vision, not of the USSR, but of Sweden before the surprising fall of the socialist regime after nearly three generations—or of the United States tomorrow, provided a radical change does not set in.

One must distinguish between the full Socialist State, where all means of production are in the hands of the government, and the Provider State. The Provider State meets quite another demand deeply implanted in the human mind: the craving for security. In Europe such security was traditionally guaranteed in the armies and the (far more numerous) civil services, but now the state promised: "You shall all become state employees," for many the fulfillment of a wish-dream. America, following the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1828, introduced the spoils system. Since 1919 this has also been practiced in Europe, with the difference that, once appointed and confirmed, a state employee cannot be sacked unless he commits a crime.

There are, of course, concrete reasons why the craving for security and the fear of insecurity have become such potent factors, making the socialist temptation so strong and dangerous. One is the religious crisis, which goes hand in hand with a steady weakening of the family. A Christian believes in Divine Providence and in the Fourth Commandment, which emphasizes one's duties toward one's parents. When the families were large and the ties within the family strong, a numerous offspring was the best old-age insurance. Country life also offered a certain security—food and living space were plentiful—whereas urban populations are far more insecure and vulnerable. But in recent decades practical materialism has led to a shrinking of the family and also of the rural sector of the "progressive" nations.

Once In, Never Out

THIS SITUATION is cleverly exploited by the state or, in democracies, by political parties, mostly of the Left. (In this respect the National Socialists did not differ from the International Socialists, and their supporters always loved to cite the "social consciousness" of Hitler's movement.) In our democracies certain political parties buy votes with handouts of public money. Thus we get Santa Claus parties all over the world; they are not easily defeated at the polls and, if they are defeated, the tighten-your-belt parties rarely have the courage to undo their work and to stop the bribery of the masses. If they did, they would not have the slightest chance of being re-elected.

All this has to do with the very *system* of democracy, and it has a circular effect. The state assumes the place of God and the family, and the "fatherless society" votes for the state, which, in the words of Alexander Mitscherlich, becomes a many-breasted mother nursing the masses. Under these circumstances man loses his personality, his courage, his readiness to take risks. Tocqueville accurately foresaw this denatured sort of man as "a timid and industrious animal whose keeper is the government," a creature seeking the "petty and paltry pleasures" that glut his life—in late-twentieth-century terms, sex, television, games. Is it so surprising that this human material was ready to embrace not only the Provider State but socialism and even red or brown tyranny? Of course, there are non-statist ways of dealing with the uncertainties of industrial civilization and a free-market economy; we have the Chilean example, with obligatory *private* insurance against illness and unemployment. But, in the hands of leftist parties, the ever-present state wants total control. In the words of Comrade Mussolini, veteran of the *Partito Socialista Italiano*: "All for the State, all by the State, nothing against the State."

Where could one expect resistance against socialism, in all its forms, to come from? Theoretically it should come from the Christian communities, but they do not live up to these expectations. One explanation is the relatively easy perversion of Christianity into an altruistic collectivism. This danger was clearly seen by Simone Weil, who wrote: "The trap of traps, the almost inevitable trap, is the social trap. Everywhere, always, and in everything the social sentiment provides a perfect imitation of the faith, that is to say a perfectly mis-

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leading one." In the Catholic Church there have never been widespread sympathies for either socialism or Communism, despite the foothold gained by the blatant nonsense of "liberation theology." But it is equally true that the Catholic Church was hostile toward classical liberalism, the great champion of free enterprise and a market economy. Hence we had for a long time in Catholic (by no means all leftish) circles a desperate search for a "Third Way" between what Marx called "capitalism" and socialism. Not until 1917 did the Catholic Church *formally* abolish the prohibition against taking interest, and it was just a year ago that it accepted a free-market economy as the only alternative to socialism.

The German Evangelical Church (EKD), so notably weak in resisting the national version of socialism, was not more inspiring in the former German Democratic Republic, with the formula *Kirche im Sozialismus*. The *Präses* of the EKD in the Rhineland province urged his flock openly after the defeat of Russian Communism "not to lose heart nor to desert the socialist [social democratic] camp." As for the Evangelical martyrs in the Third Reich, there may have been two or three. Pastor Niemoeller became a Nazi, then a Nazi dissident, and finally a Lenin Prize–winner and America-baiter. The top of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy collaborated with the government, especially in the Stalin period (even though more than a hundred bishops were murdered by the Communists). Hence the contempt for them among the majority of the clergy.

We have to face the fact that Marxist ways of thinking have deeply penetrated our mentality. I have met—in America more often than in Europe—people who would protest emphatically against being called "socialists," but who are firmly convinced that history is basically economics. To them I cite Sidney Fay, who, in his magisterial book *The Origins of the World War* (1938), emphasized that in all his very careful research on that subject he found practically no economic references. However, economic arguments are the ones that make sense to the historically interested grocer next door who knows how to run his business.

Many people naturally deplore the great suffering Europe's East is now undergoing in its "Adam Smith surgery." Yet, certain operations are necessary to save the life of a gravely ill person. There is no valid argument against undertaking such a procedure, even if it is a hazardous one.

All in all the reasons for a survival of socialism and of strong socialist tendencies are manifold. The rise and fall of the evil Soviet experiment? It might convert relatively intelligent people who had been led astray, but not the masses eager for security and neither conscious of the past nor aware of the more remote future. Modern man lives for the moment; he is a parromeleon, a cross between parrot and chameleon, an ideal victim for the various forms of socialism. Socialist parties have been and will be defeated, for instance in France, but the threat of man's collective debasement is by no means a thing of the past. *Caveant consules!* □

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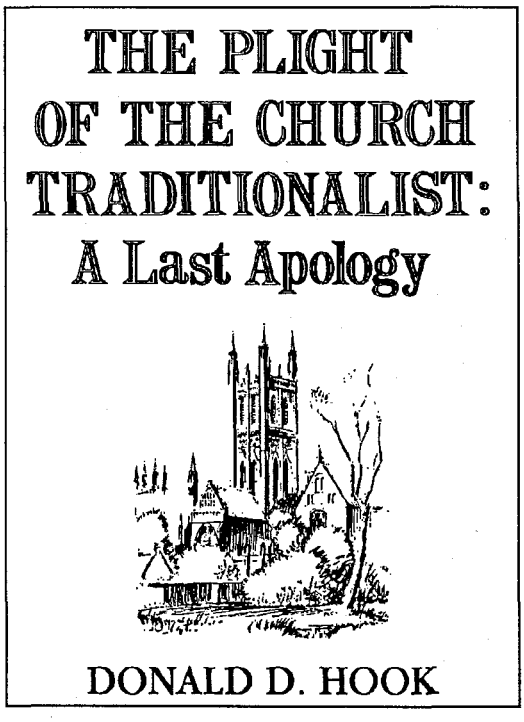

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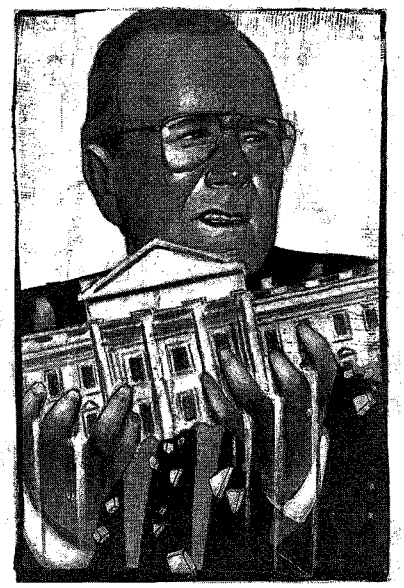

A Watershed Year

ADVICE FOR MR. BUSH

If he plays it right, George Bush could win big, and at the same time position himself to govern better in his second term. Or he could keep acting like Jimmy Carter.

EDWARD J. ROLLINS

ON NOVEMBER 5, 1980, a *Washington Post* headline read, "Reagan Wins in a Landslide." An incumbent President had been sent packing, along with enough Democratic senators and representatives to give the GOP control of the Senate and a governing coalition in the House. The New Deal Democratic coalition had been shattered. The conservative revolution, which started with Barry Goldwater in 1964 and was reinvigorated with Ronald Reagan's challenge to Gerald Ford in 1976, finally proved successful against the hapless Jimmy Carter.

Lately I've been pondering how the *Post*'s headline will read on November 4, 1992. It might say, "Clinton Beats Bush: 12-Year GOP Hold on White House Broken." Or it could read, "Bush Re-Elected; 38-year Democratic Control of Congress Over." Most political observers think the likeliest outcome will be a third possibility: "Bush Wins in Close Contest; Democrats Keep House and Senate."

The third alternative is the least acceptable: divided government does not work; each party ends up blaming the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue for the lack of leadership. It's also less likely than it might seem, because 1992 is going to be a watershed election. The voters are more mindful of the need for change than at any time since 1978–80, when years of stagflation and bracket creep led to the Tax Revolt of 1978, and the humiliation of seeing an American embassy seized by flag-burning Iranian militants and hearing Jimmy Carter talk about malaise led to the Reagan landslide.

This election could go in a number of ways. We could have an electorate that gets turned off by the choices—or lack of them—and stays home. Or we could have an electorate that gets angrier and angrier at check-kiting congressmen who are out of touch with their constituents, an electorate that gets angry at seeing nothing but negative commercials that assassinate character, and angry at candidates, *including the President*, who won't tell them which way they want to lead the country. This type of election can end up a disaster for all incumbents, including George Bush.

Or the election could turn on hope.

This election will belong to the political party that does the better job of appealing to restless voters who, if the exit polls are to be believed, have been transmitting an unrelenting barrage of signals that their allegiance is up for grabs in 1992. Consider the following propositions:

1. *Ideology is irrelevant in both parties.* Data from primaries in states as diverse as New Hampshire, Maryland, Georgia, and Florida show the frontrunners in both parties drawing votes almost equally from liberals, moderates, and conservatives. In Maryland and New Hampshire, Pat Buchanan actually got more self-identified liberal GOP votes than moderate ones, while in many states Bush outpolls Buchanan among conservative Republicans by 2 to 1. Similarly non-ideological patterns appear with the Democrats. Most voters think the two political parties are like the National Football League's two conferences, the AFC and the NFC—they both play football pretty much the same way.

2. *Voters may cross party lines this fall.* In exit polls, as many as 50 per cent of Buchanan's supporters say they will cast their ballots for the Democratic nominee come autumn. At the height of the Bill Clinton feeding frenzy, even higher numbers of Democrats said they would bolt if Clinton were their nominee. The significance of these statements is their source: primary voters, who tend to be more partisan than general-election voters. Clearly, significant numbers of voters have slipped their moorings in either major party. Many of the key swing Democrats and independents who became Republicans in the Eighties are now swing Republicans.

3. *The dividing line is between the hopeful and the hope-nots.* Supporters of George Bush and, before he pulled out, Paul Tsongas have more in common with each other than with their own party members who are supporting Pat Buchanan and Bill Clinton. The dividing line is between those who feel the past four years have not been too bad, and those who feel the country has gone a long way down the wrong track. We verbalize this by talking about the "middle-class squeeze," but the phenomenon goes

Mr. Rollins, a partner at the Sawyer, Miller Group in Washington, D.C., was Ronald Reagan's campaign manager in 1984.

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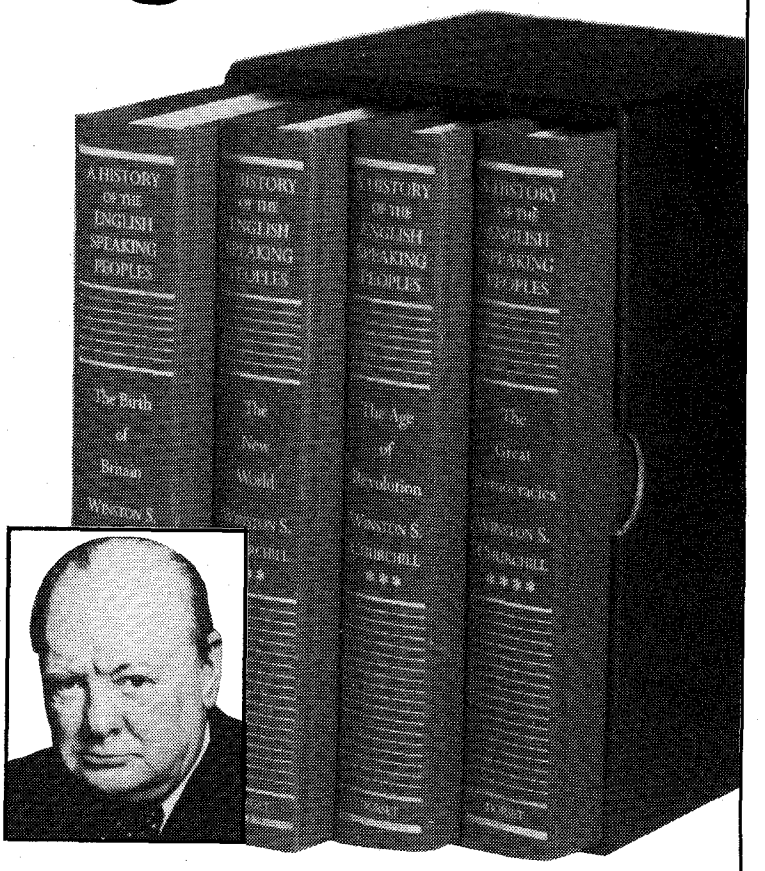
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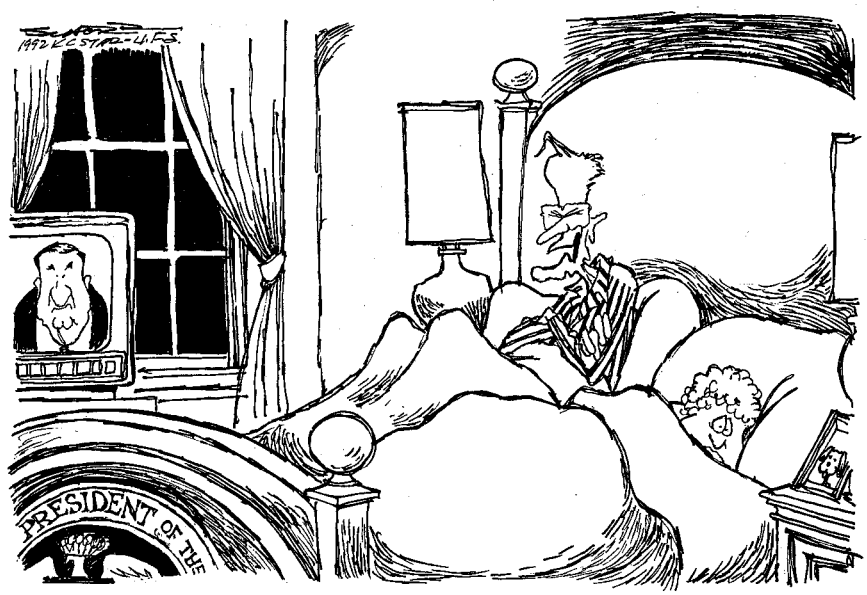

"I HATE IT WHEN BUCHANAN CALLS ME INDECISIVE... WELL, NOT 'HATE'... THAT'S TOO STRONG A WORD... ACTUALLY, I DON'T CARE... I MEAN I DO CARE... BUT..."

deeper than a simple class division. Voters feel that Washington is increasingly disconnected from their real-life concerns, incapable of taking meaningful action, and corrupted by insiders. There's a desperate sense that radical change is needed now. That's why the outsider Clinton is polling dead even with President Bush, even though some polls show 41 per cent of the voters think Clinton lacks the honesty and integrity to be President. A flawed man of action, the message seems to be, is as good as a sincere caretaker.

Republican Hopes

AS SOBERING as the outlook is for the Bush–Quayle re-election committee, the volatility that characterizes the electorate might turn out to be the GOP's best opportunity yet to consolidate the gains it made in the early Eighties. Consider the younger voters. Today's 24-year-old was 12 when Ronald Reagan was elected. Today's 34-year-old started the formative years of work under Reagan. The young voters who supported Reagan in overwhelming numbers in 1984 did so because they saw him as a winner who would not let them down. His philosophy and party did not matter as much to young voters as his strength of leadership. He followed four failed Presidencies and became America's father figure. A truism of politics is that when a voter casts three consecutive ballots for a party's presidential candidates, that voter stays with you for life. This year is an opportunity to get a lock on an entire generation.

But first, let's understand clearly what the GOP should *not* do if it wants to win big in November. Barring catastrophe, Bill Clinton is going to be the Democratic nominee. That will tempt Bush–Quayle strategists, who are already greedily eyeing those polls showing that 41 per cent of the voters think Clinton lacks integrity, to mount an all-out assault. The rallying cry will be: "Drive up his negatives!"

There are two flaws with this approach. The first is that Bill Clinton is not Michael Dukakis. "Slick Willie" is fast enough on his feet to make it hard to land a punch on him in the same place twice. As Paul Tsongas found out with his negative attacks on Clinton in Michigan and Illinois, character is not a compelling issue to voters driven by pocketbook concerns.

The second flaw is that if Clinton, whose negative attributes are probably at least as well known as his positive attributes, can still match the President in head-to-head polls, there is little reason to think an all-out assault will put him far behind.

Remember the fortunes of Carter's tactics against the "war-mongering, out of touch, aging B-movie actor" Reagan in 1980. Yes, Carter's tactics were working—until the debate with Reagan. Once the people were exposed to Reagan through the presidential debate, they saw and heard a candidate they could accept as an alternative to a President they had decided to vote out of office if anyone better came along. The negative strategy against Clinton runs the same risk: if he and Bush meet face to face, Slick Willie may pull a rabbit out of his hat and go on to win the election.

As matters stand, the demographic landscape favors a close race. Among the states that count heavily in the Electoral College, only Florida and Texas appear to be securely in the GOP column. In the Northeast, the GOP will have a battle on its hands to carry New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. In the industrial Midwest, Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio will be tough terrain. In the West, California will be the principal battleground. As Jerry Brown's first-place showing in Colorado revealed, the outsider mood is such that it could even be tough for the GOP to hold the Mountain states. Along the northern Pacific Rim, Oregon and Washington will probably go Democratic.

With Clinton on the ticket, the South may be closely contested. It has been 16 years since the South was solidly Democratic in a presidential contest, and that one pitted Native Son Jimmy Carter against Michigan Yankee Gerald Ford. The South has changed since then, as Super Tuesday revealed. Almost as many voters cast ballots in the GOP primaries as in the Democratic primaries, showing that the parties have become truly competitive. But the GOP foothold in the South has not yet met the test of a Democratic nominee from anywhere but the party's liberal, Northern establishment. That makes this the election when the GOP finds out just how deep its new Southern roots really have penetrated.

Negative attacks against Clinton will sway some of the nation's twenty million military veterans, some of its forty million Catholic voters, and some of the evangelicals who helped give Reagan his razor-thin victory margins in the South in 1980. But a campaign that tries to make change unattractive by portraying the contender as too risky a choice is a campaign that swims against the current sweeping the voters.

What George Bush needs to do now is stop defending the status quo. Exit polls show that voters who are happy with the status quo are already with

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him. The contest is for the vast number of the disaffected.

Candidate of Change

TO CAPTURE these voters George Bush needs to become the candidate of change, not the caretaker of the status quo.

He needs to lift a line from Pat Buchanan and place America first. The centerpiece of a Bush re-election drive should be a clearly articulated domestic agenda that forswears tax increases, charts a path for economic progress, and proposes courses of action to cut crime, improve education, and keep the nation a superpower economically and militarily.

Ironically, Bush was an active domestic President for his first year in office. He paid attention to education, the environment, crime, drugs, and the economy. Then came the "velvet revolutions" of 1989, and with them the gradual collapse of the Soviet Union. President Bush was forced by these historical opportunities to turn his attention abroad. The combination of a standstill in growth at home and the high tempo of summitry dictated by a rapidly changing world landscape brought about his collapse in the polls.

Just as fate intervened in 1989, it may have intervened again in 1992. The Democratic-controlled Congress has become a veritable House of ill repute. Voters are just as inclined to blame the Congress as the President for the state of the economy, with only minimal encouragement, at this writing from the White House rhetoricians. Imagine what the polls would show if the Bush–Quayle team were concentrating as much fire on the institutional embodiment of the Democratic Party—the Congress—as they have devoted to the Buchanan challenge. The House Bank isn't a bipartisan scandal. It's Tom Foley's and Dick Gephardt's scandal, and we had better start saying so. Some Republicans will fall casualty to friendly fire, but those are the fortunes of war.

Mr. Bush may not know it, but he is fighting for his life and the party he leads. He's also fighting for the future of the country and the direction we will go in the next century. Winning a split decision over Bill Clinton without a mandate for change is not enough.

A tidal wave is about to sweep across America's political landscape. Outsiders can ride it straight into the corridors of power, and insiders who resist it will find themselves beached high and dry, far from Washington. What the President needs to do is borrow a page from Harris Wofford, the insider who became an outsider, and take up tools to tear out the dry rot in the Congress. He can get re-elected, build a mandate, and bring in a team that will give him a governing coalition all at the same time.

More importantly, he will preside over a watershed election that consolidates the gains the GOP has made since 1980. And I will be able to pick up the *Washington Post* on November 4 and read a headline to my liking. □

Silver Lining

SHOCK TREATMENT

George Bush has threatened to cut aid to Israel. Israel's friends should hope he means it.

JOEL BAINERMAN

THE Bush Administration's opposition to the $10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees to Israel and, even more, its talk of cutting Israel's yearly aid of $3 billion have come as a shock to Israel, but in fact an aid cutoff would be a blessing in disguise. Israel's economy has long been in dire need of drastic reform. Shock treatment is the only method of jolting Israeli politicians out of their dependence on foreign assistance. As long as the yearly overdrafts are met by foreigners, the politicians will never voluntarily release their control over the economy.

Until now the problem has been more psychological than economic. Israelis always believed they needed U.S. aid. That view is changing. The call for "economic independence," a rarity just six months ago, is now coming from all sectors of Israeli society. The only ones who seem not to have realized this are Israel's supporters in the United States. If Jews want an independent state filled with six million inhabitants, they have to create an economy that can support it. Economic independence is no less important than political freedom.

Israeli leaders have long blamed the country's economic difficulties on endless wars, but in fact defense spending has declined from a peak of 31.9 per cent of GNP in 1975 to 17.3 per cent today. No, Israel's economic problems are caused not by her defense budget, but by the fact that her politicians make too many of her economic decisions. As the government's budget accounts for more than 80 per cent of gross domestic product, less than a fifth of the nation's economic resources are controlled by non-governmental hands. Israel's public sector employs a third of her work force. Subsidies for food, health services, credit, industry, export insurance, and transportation consume $3 billion annually. Transfer payments increased from 7 per cent of GNP in 1960 to 30 per cent by 1976. Of every shekel earned, 56 per cent is paid in taxes. Because of rigid labor laws, output per employee is half of what it is in other Western countries. Because of import licenses and government-sanctioned cartels and monopolies, Israelis pay an extra $3 billion a year in higher prices for their goods and services.

"Many Israelis will freely admit, in private, that free-market policies are the antidote to stagnation," says Alvin Rabushka, a senior fellow of the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, who recently testified before Congress against granting the loan guarantees. "Yet despite these close encounters with reason and eco-

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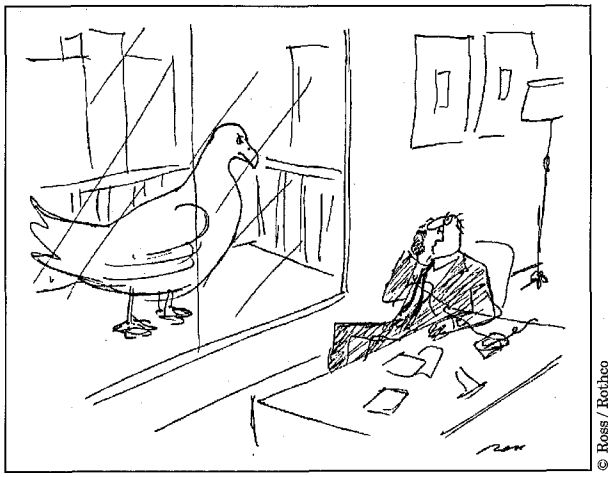
nomic reality, Israeli leaders continue to deconstruct the failure of socialism in Israel. They spent much of the last two years formulating plans for additional subsidies to business and labor, higher levels of government spending and taxation, and a further increase in government intervention in the economy."

To see how this works, consider how Israel spent the $400 million in loan guarantees for housing for Soviet Jews that the U.S. granted after the Gulf War. This money was put in the hands of Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, who was free to decide how many apartments would be built and where, and to offer financial guarantees to contractors for any unsold units. According to Barry Chamish, author of a forthcoming book on Israeli political and economic corruption, *The Fall of Israel* (Cannongate Press, Edinburgh), Sharon budgeted $30,000 apiece for sixty thousand mobile homes, which should have cost only $10,000 apiece when bought in bulk. The Knesset finance committee investigated the matter and discovered that the mobile homes were overpriced, yet it still allocated $20,000 apiece for them. All in all, receiving the $400 million in new loans will wind up costing Israeli taxpayers an additional $600 billion.

The cost of traditional apartments is another problem. Because of its reliance on cheap labor from the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli construction industry hasn't progressed technologically in decades. It takes an average of 27 months to build an apartment building, three times longer than in other Western countries. The long building time is one of the reasons why a simple apartment of 650 square feet costs at least $75,000 to $85,000, and much more in major urban centers.

Israel's land policy also pushes housing costs up. When the state was founded in 1948 the government, ostensibly for security reasons, did not allow farmers, contractors, or private homeowners to purchase land from the government; they could only rent it on a 99-year lease. Today, more than 93 per cent of the land in Israel is still in government hands. In the suburbs of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, land accounts for 40 per cent of the price of an apartment.

Another factor in Israel's high apartment prices is the highly regulated nature of the economy. Nearly every single building material—glass, paint, aluminum, cement, wood—is sold by one firm as a monopoly or by a few under a cartel. "It's beyond most Israelis why an apartment in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv now costs more than in most large American cities," says Chamish. "If the building industry was exposed to real competition from abroad, building taxes lowered, monopolies and cartels on building materials dismantled, and more land put on the market, housing costs could be cut to two-thirds."



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"Yes, Miss Higgins, pigeon food—quick!"

Because of Sharon's ideological conviction that new immigrants should live in outlying rural areas such as the Galilee and Negev, nearly 50 per cent of the construction contracts for apartments were directed there. Staying one step ahead of the bureaucrats, the newly arrived Soviet Jews realized that with no adequate commuter rail system, job prospects in these areas would be extremely limited. As a result, only 7 per cent of them have settled there. The acres of unsold homes will eventually be paid for by the Israeli taxpayer.

When large-scale Soviet immigration began, the politicians told the Israeli public that "intervention into the economy is justified because we can't rely on the private sector to provide for them." In fact, had Sharon not had access to the $400 million in loan guarantees, he would have been forced to hand the job of building new homes over to the private sector, which could have built pre-fabricated homes, for sale and rental, for half the current cost. The moment homes can be built in Israel for $30,000 and rented out for $300 a month, insurance companies and other service firms will develop their markets, and management companies will spring up to administer these portfolios. This will create new jobs and financial activity to stimulate the economy.

The next multi-billion-dollar mistake was the government's plan to create jobs for the immigrants. The Ministry of Industry and Trade is establishing a fund to offer cheap loans for small businesses, subsidize new workers in existing companies, fund "incubators" to commercialize immigrant scientists' innovations, offer financial guarantees for foreign investors, and finance a government-owned company to launch new high-risk ventures. What we can in fact expect to see is more bureaucracy, more subsidies, and hundreds of inefficient new factories which a few years down the line will demand a government bailout costing many times the original investment.

What should the Israeli government instead do? What it should have done in late 1989 when the immigrants first started coming: initiate drastic economic reform and embark on an emergency effort to liquidate the $8 to $10 billion worth of enterprises it owns. Had this been done, $2 to $3 billion worth of capital would be available today. Additional billions could be obtained by selling the 93 per cent of the nation's acreage the government holds, vastly increasing the tax base and putting these assets to productive economic use. More billions would be made available if the government offered a general amnesty to Israeli citizens to let them put the money they have sitting under the kitchen tiles and in foreign banks into the economy to expand private-sector growth.

Virtuous Circle

MANY observers of the Israeli political scene argue that economic change in Israel can only follow political reform. But it is more likely that it will have to be the other way around. At the moment, there is no chance of serious political reform because nearly every facet of

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life—even sports—is touched by government's spending power. The moment the market rather than politicians decides people's economic fate, the existing political parties and their complex systems of patronage will be superfluous. "When the politicians have fewer fiefdoms to battle each other for, the less resistance there will be to reforming the electoral system," claims Ezra Sohar, Israel's longtime advocate of political and economic reform. If the U.S. ceases to pick up the yearly overdraft, Israel will be forced to change its ways. Israel's politicians, to do them justice, will put the security of the country ahead even of their appetite for power, and if security requires privatization and budget cutting, this is what they will do.

Israel has no choice but to start thinking about how it will fund its defense needs if and when U.S. foreign assistance is permanently cut. The U.S. Government could help in this respect by offering to restructure Israel's aid package. Today Israel receives $1.8 billion in military aid, 75 per cent of which is allocated in the form of grants for the purchase of arms from American companies. Another $1.2 billion is allocated in the form of economic aid. Israel returns $1.2 billion each year on its $10-billion debt to the U.S. Government, the exact amount it receives in economic aid. If America is paying back Israel's debt anyway, why not cancel it altogether? Would anything really change? Certainly, Israel would suffer no direct economic damage, as the money goes out as fast as it comes in. In eight years' time, American taxpayers would be ahead because they would no longer have to keep coming up with $1.2 billion in economic assistance each year.

As part of this new arrangement, Israel would receive $1 billion in military credits directly out of the Pentagon's budget, the same source that finances the defenses of NATO, the Philippines, Japan, and South Korea. Israel would have to learn to live with $450 million less a year. On the other hand, there would be no need for Israel's supporters to lobby Congress every year, nor would the Administration be able to manipulate Israel by warning, "Do what we say or we'll cancel this gift we give you." (Granted, these new conditions may reduce the payroll of pro-Israel lobbyists and force some senators and representatives to find other issues to woo Jewish voters with.)

For Israel, the 11th hour has arrived. Unless her leaders drastically improve the productivity of her economy, the future of the Zionist enterprise is bleak. Israel's supporters in the United States must now act like true friends. Instead of prescribing more painkillers, they should encourage Israel to submit to a program of active rehabilitation. □

The Economics of Incumbency

TIME FOR TERM LIMITS

Unless you think government spends your money more wisely than you do, support term limits.

ALAN REYNOLDS

JAMES MICHENER recently wrote a charming defense of "knee-jerk liberalism," meaning sympathy for the underdog. What really distinguishes Left from Right, though, is not compassion, but an unshaken faith that political decisions about who should produce what for whom are superior to individual decisions in the marketplace. Michener thus writes that taxes have been the best money he has spent, because "governments have spent their share of my money more wisely and with better results than I have spent my own funds." This idea, that those in government offices are wiser and more charitable than ordinary taxpayers, is now the defining core of what passes for "liberalism."

From the other side of the political spectrum, free-market economist Robert Barro of Harvard recently wrote that it is a bad idea to limit the number of years that congressmen can serve, just as it is a bad idea to limit consumer choice in the marketplace. I rarely disagree with Professor Barro, but do so this time for roughly the same reason I must disagree with Mr. Michener—namely, that any analogy between economic and political choice is fundamentally flawed. Once we understand how markets work, it becomes easy to see why government almost never works.

When people buy things directly, rather than through the tax system, they exercise powerful control over the cost and quality of what they buy. Producers who do not keep their costs down and quality up will not survive the intense competition for the consumer's dollar. Federal regulators and bureaucrats, by contrast, invariably see their budgets and authority expanded whenever they succeed in turning minor problems into costly crises, such as gasoline waiting lines, the S&L fiasco, and runaway Medicare spending. Paying rising taxes for failed government programs, people soon discover that they must pay twice—as they are forced to turn to private suppliers for schooling, Medigap insurance, security systems, pension plans, and mail carriers.

The fact that government-controlled industries invariably offer apathetic service at soaring costs is not an accident to be fixed by electing new people, but is instead a reflection of the intrinsic inability of politicians and bureaucrats to understand the vast diversity of human wants. If we apply the same criteria by which we judge private markets, the political market is inherently defective. In place of the market's enormous array of goods and services, politicians can offer only a single package deal. Each voter might like parts of one package, and parts of another. But we have to choose only one package, and stick with it for several years. To make matters worse, there are only two packages to pick from—what economists call a "du-

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opoly." This is certainly better than a one-party monopoly—precisely twice as good, in fact. But it still leaves little real choice, as last November's gubernatorial election in Louisiana made clear. At the national level, voters are periodically confronted with alternative ways to expand government, never with any concrete plan to put Leviathan on a diet.

Buyer Beware

THE POLITICAL market, unlike economic markets, suffers from total absence of consumer protection. There are no guarantees, and you can't sue. If you voted for somebody because he promised not to impose price controls or raise tax rates, you can't later take him to court for fraud if he reneges. The political marketplace is further distorted by poor consumer information. Since each separate vote is extremely unlikely to affect the outcome of an election, voters have far less incentive to become well informed about proposed legislation than they do about, say, buying a new house or car. This makes it easy for organized interests to dominate political tinkering with the economy, on issues like import quotas or subsidies, since the cost of such government favors is too widely dispersed to get consumers adequately agitated.

Few people openly propose that we let government officials buy everything for us through the tax system, which is about all there was to socialism. Yet many U.S. politicians are still eager to impose de facto nationalization of vital industries—notably, health insurance, schooling, energy, credit cards, and automotive design. Such piecemeal socialism is designed to empower incumbent congressmen by expanding their capacity to either threaten regulatory damage or dole out privileges and gifts. The authority ensures a steady flow of campaign funds to the feared incumbents. It also ensures that those citizens with little political clout, which means consumers in general and the poor in particular, are systematically exploited.

Since incumbents have all the advantages of free publicity, through franked constituent letters and easy access to television, the only way to unseat them has always been to outspend them at election time. Knowing this, incumbents enacted so-called "campaign reform" laws a few years ago to make it virtually impossible for most challengers to raise sufficient funds. Realizing that incumbents almost always win, political-action committees don't waste money on outsiders or on new political parties, thus guaranteeing the perpetuation of an entrenched aristocracy. Extremely affluent challengers can still fund their own campaigns, though some in Congress want spending limits to end that competitive threat too.

The ideal solution would be to repeal all federal campaign laws, except for full disclosure of campaign contributors. But incumbent congressmen know that would make them face a fair fight, so they aren't about to do it. This leaves us with an elite class of aging professional politicians who are unaccountable to anyone but the special-interest PACs that finance their campaigns; they are virtually assured of life tenure. In the absence of undoing campaign reform, there is really no alternative to term limits. Otherwise, incumbent politicians will remain out of control, insulated from the justifiable wrath of the taxpayers. Term limitation is not going to go away, if only because successful state and local politicians are increasingly frustrated in their efforts to seek federal office, thanks to the unsporting privileges of incumbency. □

Why NR Is Wrong

EASTERN REPROACHES

Does *NR*'s call for Croatian and Slovenian independence amount to re-Balkanizing the Balkans?

NORA BELOFF

LJUBLJANA

NATIONAL REVIEW, surveying the cruel civil wars that have torn Yugoslavia apart, wants the U.S. to take the side of Croatia and Slovenia. Your writers seem to imagine that if self-determination were allowed, Yugoslavia would separate neatly into three or four homogeneous democracies, each living in comparative harmony with its neighbors, and the dream of Woodrow Wilson would at last be realized.

But the ethnic map of Yugoslavia shows that, in the hodgepodge of nationalities which history has scattered over Yugoslav territory, self-determination is a delusion. If the political boundaries were to follow ethnic diversities, there would be hundreds of mini-states, leaving some areas, having "no nation majority," with no government at all. What the ethnic map also reveals is that, in Croatia, one-third of the territory is inhabited mainly by Serbs or "Yugoslavs," mostly of mixed parentage. These represent 17 per cent of Croatia's population. And over centuries of migrations, both in Croatia and in Bosnia, the Catholic and Orthodox communities so intermingled that it is impossible to draw a clear line between them.

The most recent fighting began in 1990 when, in the name of "Historic Croatia," President Franjo Tudjman's Croats tried to take over contested regions and were shot by Serbs. But what is "Historic Croatia"? It can hardly include Dubrovnik, which had been a Free Republic until it was conquered by Napoleon; was then part of Dalmatia, ruled by Austria, while Croatia was ruled by Hungary; then was given to a united Yugoslavia in 1919; then, during the Second World War, was given by Hitler to Mussolini; and finally was restored to Yugoslavia after the 1945 Allied victory.

Not until 1941 was the first Independent State of Croatia in modern times set up—by Hitler, and ruled by the Ustashi, the Croat equivalent of

Miss Beloff is the author of Tito's Flawed Legacy.

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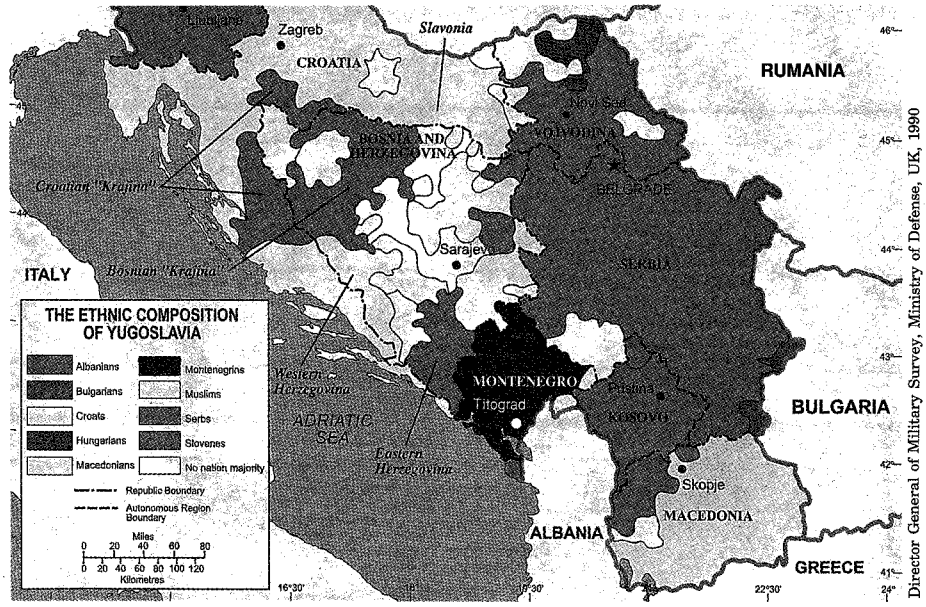
the Nazis, who carried out a policy of genocide against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies. According to Axis sources, at least 350,000 Serbs were slaughtered. The present resistance of Serbs to Croat domination cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of this genocide. Commending military support for the Croats, your correspondent Radek Sikorski argues that otherwise, children of the present Croat victims "will grow up and want to take revenge." What does he think the grown-up Serbs are doing now?

But the Ustashi holocaust did not suit Tito's class-war version of history, and so he colluded with the Catholic hierarchy to keep the voluminous evidence from public gaze; the Vatican continues to deny it. Far from repudiating this bloody past, Tudjman has presided over a revival of the Ustashi's "Croatia for the Croats" racialism. Ethnic discrimination is incorporated into citizenship laws; extortionate taxes are levied on Serb-owned properties; and Croat courts do nothing to protect Serb or mixed families from arson and assault. A cult has even developed around the person of Mile Budak, the wartime Ustashi minister who was the first to institutionalize genocide. At a rally in Gospic in 1941 he declared the Serbs would be eliminated from Croatia, one third by expulsion, one third by killing, and the rest by forcible conversion to Catholicism, which would turn them into Croats. A school and street in a Zagreb suburb have been named after him, and the Serbs must feel as German Jews would if Berlin acquired a Goebbels Strasse.

Out of the wartime vacuum, Tito managed, with Russian and Western help, to seize absolute power; he stayed on top until his death in 1980. Tito never resolved the ethnic conflicts; he merely manipulated them. Having reconquered the province of Kosovo from Albania in 1945, Tito placed it under the harsh rule of his Serb chief of police. Then, after student troubles at the end of the 1960s, he changed his tack, giving full power to trusted Albanians, who revenged themselves for the previous two decades by terrorizing the Serbian minority, by then only 10 per cent. Then last year the new Serbian Communist boss, Slobodan Milosevic, forcibly annexed the autonomous province.

By reasserting Serb nationalism, Milosevic temporarily deflected growing anti-Communism, but the outside world protested and Zagreb and Ljubljana ruptured relations with Belgrade. From then on, Milosevic veered between two incompatible roles: champion of a Greater Serbia, incorporating all Serb minorities, and defender of a united Yugoslavia.

The top brass in the federal army, deliberately selected to represent all the different communities, does have a vested interest in preserving Yugoslavia, on which their jobs and privileges depend, but they are *not*, legally or practically, under Milosevic's orders. Different generals, at different times, have veered between secret collusion and outright opposition. Hence the endless succession of broken agreements and violated ceasefires.



Not a Lovely War

TODAY THE fighting has died down, but for how long? The territory is bristling with weapons. Private militias, on both sides, attract looters, unemployables, and foreign mercenaries. For those who like fighting, it has been a lovely war; for the vast majority a nightmare, in which thousands have been killed and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes.

What was the good of it all? I asked Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel. He said Slovenia had to go it alone as the rest of Yugoslavia (including Croatia) was unfit to be integrated into civilized Europe, and Slovenia's Western orientation would open the tills of the World Bank and IMF. Once peace was restored, he also anticipated a revival of trade with the rest of Yugoslavia. The Slovenian prime minister was in Germany at the time and said publicly that, once hatreds subsided, there would be prospects for a new Yugoslavia, based on the freedom of its component parts.

So far, hatreds have not subsided, and, all over Yugoslavia, inflamed nationalism is submerging morality. But history refutes the notion that Croats and Serbs are incapable of co-existing peaceably. By the end of the 1930s the Croat Peasant Party, actively supported by the Serb minority in Croatia, had been granted autonomy by the Yugoslav monarchy.

We are a long way from that today. Throughout Yugoslavia, no leaders call themselves Communist any more, but the Communist mentality is everywhere: a collectivist merger of economic and political power, the manipulation of the media, and, even in relatively developed Slovenia, a failure to legalize private enterprise. And in Croatia as elsewhere, the old apparatchiks still hold the top jobs.

The worst thing the outside world could do would be to add to the violence. Neither Milosevic nor Tudjman deserves sympathy—let alone military aid. What the people of Yugoslavia need is a common set of political and economic arrangements that will protect different communities. That implies a legal framework both to protect human rights and to enforce rules of trade, finance, and commerce. We should make aid and trade conditional upon the republics' willingness to move in this direction. □

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The Vision Thing

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

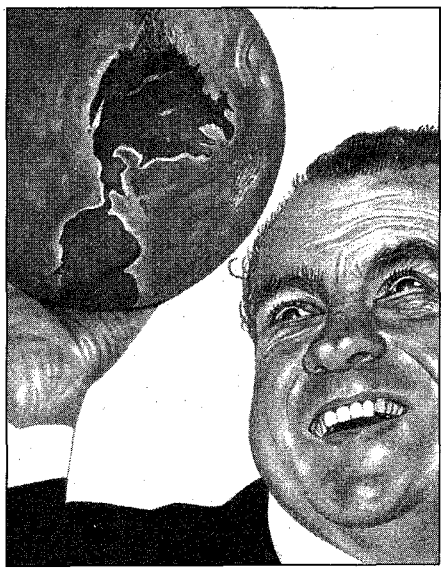
SEIZE THE MOMENT is the right book on the right issue at the right time. The moment is one of unprecedented change in international affairs, and it seems to have produced unprecedented confusion and loss of nerve in the foreign-policy establishment. This has broken down into various schools of one-dimensional strategy: left isolationists, right isolationists, democratic globalists, strategic "realists," and the dominant school of domestic-policy ostriches. All exaggerate some aspect of the truth into the whole of it; none has yet persuaded the nation that its narrow vision is the one to follow.

Mr. Nixon offers a more balanced view that takes account of both national interest and international cooperation, stability and change, strategic realism and American idealism. He paints the Big Picture of America's role as the sole world superpower in the post-cold-war world; he examines crises and potential crises in the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the Middle East, China, etc.; and he reflects on the principles that should guide American foreign policy through them. If Mr. Nixon's style is occasionally didactic—with five recommendations for this and four conditions for that—it is always simple and clear. But that simplicity is deceptive: it is the outcome of hard study by a natural strategist.

Seize the Moment: America's Challenge in a One-Superpower World, by Richard Nixon (Simon and Schuster, 322 pp., $25)

Mr. Nixon seeks, first, to secure the new and fragile peace between East and West. The immediate requirements for this are that Boris Yeltsin's economic reforms should succeed, and that the independence of former Soviet republics like Ukraine should be consolidated. Hence his appeal for American leadership of a common Western aid program.

Mr. Nixon's case is strengthened by the foresight he shows in *Seize the Moment*. Originally written before the failed Soviet coup (and updated), it criticized U.S. policy as too dependent on a Mikhail Gorbachev who would fail because he shrank from real reform; praised Yeltsin as a genuine reformer with popular support; and argued that U.S. policy should seek peacefully to break up—rather than to prop up—the Soviet empire. And, lo, it came to pass as he said.



Bonnie Gardner

Now Mr. Nixon fears that if Yeltsin and Russian democracy fail, their successor will be a Great Russian chauvinism that would set out to reconquer the old evil empire. Since he also believes that the newly independent republics are essential as buffer-states between a nuclear-armed Russia and a united Germany, he wants to prevent such a reversal. Western aid is a timely means of keeping the Russian democrats in power and entrenching a new structure of states that would prevent another Russo-German war.

None of this implies a naïve view of what foreign aid can achieve. Russia lacks such elements of a modern economy as a management class, and Mr. Nixon's proposals concentrate on instilling such basic skills as accountancy. Even practical aid, moreover, would be granted only to support free-market reforms already in operation. Such reforms may or may not succeed in the long term. But the main U.S. interest will have been achieved if aid buys the breathing space to secure the post-cold-war peace.

A secure peace would necessarily be a *Pax Americana*, since only the U.S. remains a global military and economic superpower. Mr. Nixon largely welcomes this role and the responsibilities it entails—but with an awareness of the limits to American power that sometimes escapes the unipolar school of national strategy. There are social and economic failures at home—for which he prescribes a surprisingly tough set of conservative remedies, including school vouchers, workfare, and spending cuts. But even a power largely unrestrained by domestic difficulties, like the U.S. between 1945 and 1965, cannot reshape other cultures at will. If indigenous democratic forces exist, he argues, the U.S. should assist them. But it cannot call them into being like spirits from the vasty deep. Mr. Nixon is a very cautious interventionist, alert for any signs of "imperial overstretch."

The Nixon doctrine, after all, laid down that the U.S. should intervene rarely, generally in response to direct invasion across frontiers, and otherwise rely on proxy powers like Iran and Saudi Arabia to enforce regional order. But success here depends on whether the proxies are able and willing to carry out the task. In the Gulf, Saudi Arabia proved to be a potential victim rather than a policeman, and Iran after the Shah became one of the leading local muggers.

Mr. Nixon apparently forgot this when he prescribed a united Europe that would help the U.S. to maintain order throughout the world. His full prescription includes encouraging European economic and political integration (though with growing doubts about its growing protectionism); accepting the emergence of a separate

Mr. O'Sullivan is NR*'s Editor.*

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European "pillar" in NATO; extending NATO's role to "out-of-area" (i.e., the Third World); and forging a special relationship with a dominant Germany.

To be sure, the U.S. needs allies to maintain a *Pax Americana*. Public opinion might accept America as the police sergeant of the world, but not as the sole flatfoot. But would a German-dominated Europe be able or willing to carry out its proxy role? The Germans account for only eighty million people out of a European Community population of almost four hundred million. Their economy is only one-fourth greater than that of France, which itself is about equal to those of Britain and Italy. They simply do not have the weight to dominate Europe. No single *European* power does. Which may well be a good thing. If the Gulf War is any guide, a Europe under German sway would be a semi-neutralist power seeking a free security ride on America's defense coattails.

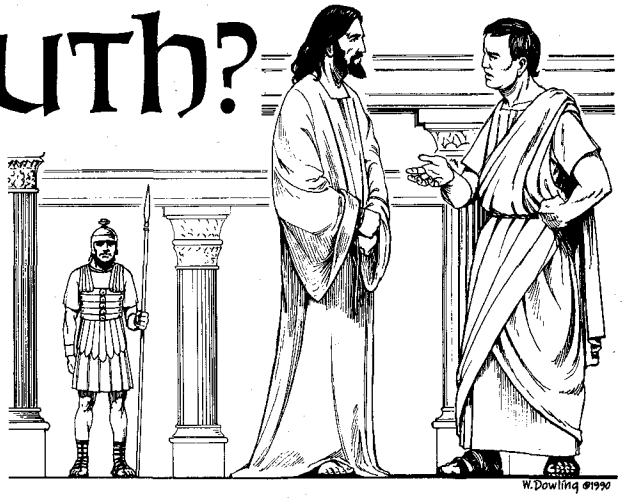
And that is the optimistic view. For almost any kind of united Europe would be driven toward anti-Americanism, first by the logic of its position as a rival superpower, and second by the Atlantic trade wars that its own protectionism would invite. In such circumstances, a European "pillar" of NATO would gradually become an entirely separate defense organization—and one, moreover that would *at best* intervene east of Berlin. "Out-of-area" operations would become an entirely American responsibility which over time the American public would shrug off. The result would be what Mr. Nixon fears most: isolationism on both sides of the Atlantic.

Let Mr. Nixon recall his own proverb: "In foreign policy, a single point of executive authority is indispensable for decisive action." No such single point exists in Europe; none is on the horizon. But as the Gulf War showed, such a single authority exists for the West as a whole in Washington. Forty years of experience have made it tolerable to our European allies, particularly those who now fear Germany as well as Russia. The only lasting basis for a *Pax Americana* is a Western alliance consisting of the United States surrounded by a multitude of lesser powers. All other arrangements would divide and weaken the West.

But in what spirit would Mr. Nixon conduct a *Pax Americana*? He gives short shrift to the notion that the end of the cold war marks a radical change in human consciousness or international behavior. No "end of history" or "irrelevance of military power" for him. Mr. Nixon's map of the world is dotted with the legend: "Here be lions." So he carries a big stick—but he talks more softly than of old.

He preaches the doctrine of "practical idealism"—the view that "our hard-headed calculations of power politics . . . must serve not just our security interests, but our wider values as well." So he would keep open our trading links with China *and* set up Radio Free Tibet. But what of the concept of "stability," which an earlier Nixon might have endorsed without qualification and which the Bush Administration has used to justify discouraging nationalism in the Soviet empire, abandoning the Kurds to Saddam Hussein, keeping Yugoslavia intact, and constructing a new world order

WHAT IS TRUTH?



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based on a status quo of existing states? The answer is illuminating. Mr. Nixon distinguishes between a rigid "stability" that consists of propping up the status quo—even one as "artificial" as Yugoslavia's—and a stability resting on flexible, decentralized political structures that can accommodate such forces as Ukrainian, Kurdish, and Croatian nationalism, and Russian anti-Communism.

Like Canning after the Napoleonic Wars, Mr. Nixon seeks to advance his country's interests by riding such movements rather than resisting them. But the trick here is to distinguish between the rising future and the still powerful past. Mr. Nixon's foreign policy would be complete if he were to see Maastricht not as an intermediate wave in a future of European federalism, but as its high tide. □

Braintrust Bust

JAMES B. BURNHAM

THE ISSUE of effective stewardship, of an agent's responsibility to his master, is perhaps the most ancient of management problems. Many a Biblical parable is framed in terms of this relationship—

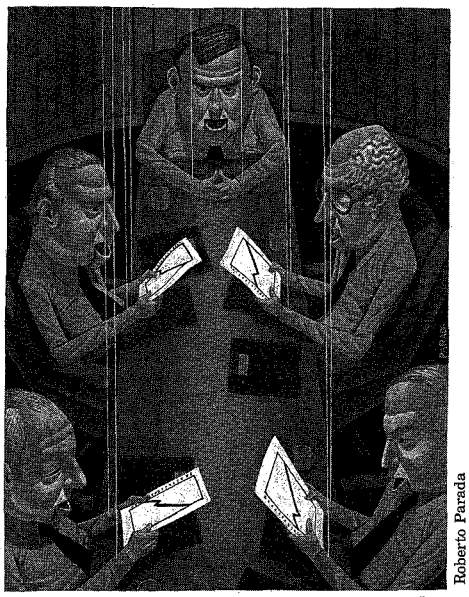
The Modern Corporation and Private Property, by Adolf A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means (Transaction, 436 pp., $24.95)

Short-Term America, by Michael T. Jacobs (Harvard Business School Press, 268 pp., $24.95)

and modern-day political scientists and economists have tried to make it their own under the label of "agency theory."

Stewardship was the central issue in one of the most influential books of the 1930s, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, by lawyer and Roosevelt "braintruster" Adolf Berle and economist Gardiner Means. With the recent upsurge in corporate megamergers and multi-billion-dollar financial restructurings, and the dismal global competitive performance of major U.S. corporations (e.g., GM and IBM), the reissue of this still relevant and readable book is well timed.

The initial sections document the extent, as of 1930, to which economic power had become concentrated in large corporations, and how ownership and control of these same corporations had become separated. Berle and



Roberto Parada

Means then summarize concisely the legal history of the relationship between corporations, their shareholders and managers, and the state.

They go on to suggest the implications of these developments: managers, largely free from shareholder control, have a natural tendency both to enrich themselves and to fritter away the firm's assets in unproductive endeavors and inattentiveness, at the expense of the owners. Berle and Means quite properly credit Adam Smith for the first questioning remarks about stock companies, presumably based on the sometimes erratic performance of the first great modern corporation, the East India Company: "negligence and profusion must always prevail, more or less, in the management of the affairs of such a company." The substantial bulk of academic research since Berle and Means supports this proposition: separation of ownership and control does adversely affect the performance of the firm.

Berle and Means then go on to ask, "given the size and complexities of modern business, what reasonable alternative organizational arrangements could be devised?"

It is at this point that the book takes a wrong turn, which the typical believer in activist government continues to follow. The authors assert that "by surrendering control and responsibility, [passive property owners] have surrendered the right that the corporation should be operated in their sole interest." From this it follows that shareholders are not entitled to the full profits of their capital. The way is thus cleared for the modern corporation to serve "all society . . . on the basis of public policy rather than private cupidity." Here is the intellectual foundation for a massive expansion of governmental oversight (which the authors helped bring about through the establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission) and the confused, harmful concept that the corporation has many "stakeholders"—with shareholders typically at the end of the list.

What Berle and Means could not visualize (and the onset of the Great Depression is a perfectly legitimate excuse) was how structural, market-driven changes in the U.S. financial system would start to swing the pendulum back toward greater concentration of share ownership. As Murray Weidenbaum and Mark Jensen point out in their introduction to this new edition, the rise of the institutional investor has radically changed the ownership structure of corporate America. For example, the top twenty pension funds now control 11 per cent of General Motors and 9 per cent of IBM. And there is every reason to believe that these concentration ratios will grow substantially higher.

But in an ironic twist of fate, it now appears that the legislation which Berle and others fathered is preventing newly concentrated shareholders from exercising effective, interested control over their companies—with calamitous consequences for the competitiveness of American corporations.

In *Short-Term America*, Michael T. Jacobs details a wide range of laws and regulations that severely discourage shareholders from re-marrying ownership and control. These include SEC regulation of communication among shareholders and insider-infor-

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mation rules, the 1933 Glass–Steagall Act (sharply limiting commercial-bank equity investments), IRS tax policy for mutual funds, and the Hart–Scott–Rodino Act (which puts obstacles in the way of ownership behavior by pension and mutual funds).

As Jacobs sees it, these laws encourage a distant and antagonistic relationship between the suppliers of capital and its users, the corporate managers. The result is an erosion of trust, greater risk for investors, and a higher cost of capital, reflecting a larger "risk premium" than that required by, say, Japanese or German investors in their indigenous companies. The interaction of these factors, combined with a highly liquid set of financial markets, results in a marked tendency for U.S. corporations and investors to focus on the short term.

Jacobs had a unique opportunity to study these issues in Washington as director of corporate finance in the Treasury Department. He describes being summoned to a quiet lunch by representatives of the Business Roundtable who were reacting to his ideas for changes in corporate governance and SEC legislation (making it harder for CEOs to stack their boards of directors with cronies, for example). The chastened deputy assistant secretary found that "corporate America liked things exactly the way they were." The typical Fortune 500 CEO likes to complain bitterly about pressures to focus on the short term, but he clearly views shareholders and outside directors more as adversaries than as partners.

It may be that the market itself is finding a solution to the problem: the emergence of highly focused investment groups as KKR, Warburg Pincus, and Berkshire Hathaway, which puts business managers under constant, knowledgeable scrutiny to get the corporate house in order. Jacobs puts this idea forward as a proposal, but from this reviewer's perspective it is already very much under way.

Certainly if GM and IBM are to survive into the twenty-first century, they are going to have to discover very soon what it takes to get better products to consumers in a shorter period of time. If we prefer to see American-based firms stay in the race, maybe even the corporate chieftains can be persuaded that they need to get closer to their shareholders. □

STOP SMOKING IN ½ HOUR FLAT

Even Though You Really Don't Want To Quit!

That was me. A pigheaded, "didn't want to quit", die-hard smoker. Trapped in an aggravating love-affair–with cigarettes.

Openly, I cursed their choking grip on me. Inwardly, I was totally unwilling to do anything else but puff away. Your typical chain-smoker wildly raving about kicking the habit–*and not meaning one single word.*

It was a joke. Unfortunately, the laugh was on me. The grim warnings of the Surgeon General, the American Cancer Society, and my worried doctor all went in one ear and out the other. My tobacco addiction was like a runaway train. Completely out of control and destined for disaster. *Unstoppable!*

Me give up smoking? Better ask for my right arm!

Every so often, I would make a good old college try at quitting cold turkey. Before you could say "Jack Robinson", there I'd be. Frantically scrounging in the garbage for soggy butts. As usual, my good intentions went up in smoke. I was hooked – *again.*

Who was I kidding? Smoking was an undeniable necessity. Super-important to my daily life. How I enjoyed that first eye-opening drag in the morning–that satisfying end-of-the-meal lighting up–that nerve-settling inhalation when things got hectic. Me give up all these irreplaceable pleasures? Better ask for my right arm!

Cancer or no cancer, doctor or no doctor, I loved smoking much too much to ever stop. But one day, I discovered a secret that turned my burning passion into red-hot hate. A secret that set me free in just 30 minutes flat. *Not a single cigarette in 20 years!*

Freed me in 30 minutes! Not a cigarette in 20 years!

My smoking is past-history. Gone without hypnosis, behavior modification, pills, drugs, classroom courses, nailbiting, will-power or *climbing the walls.* Gone without such games as switching brands, chewing gum, fake candy, diary-keeping or saving dirty stubs in a messy jar.

Gone, too, without gaining an extra ounce. Matter of fact, my wife says that I even lost a couple of pounds. And I never felt better.

Running into an old buddy brought back memories of those "didn't want to quit" days. This 3-packs-a-dayer had tried everything but still couldn't stop. He begged me to outline the details of my remarkable secret.

That night, I wrote it out in plain, step-by-step language anyone could understand and mailed him a copy. After it did the trick for my buddy, he told some of his friends. Soon, I was hunted out by pleading strangers for the same "Stop Smoking Secret."

If you can lick a stamp, you can lick your cigarette habit just as I–and they–did. I know what it's like to have that compelling urge to light up. And I know what it's like to be able to smilingly pass it by without pangs of yearning.

What's more, I know that you can honestly and truly stop smoking for keeps in half an hour flat–even if it's the last thing in the world you'd rather do. All for a ten dollar bill.

Simply send for my "Stop Smoking Secret" and read it. Yes, it's as easy as that. Just *read* it. I can't tell *how* it works. It just *does* I guarantee it, with no strings attached.

Guaranteed to work— or your next pack's on me!

If you ever start smoking again after reading my secret–and I mean *ever*–you haven't lost any money. Merely return it for a full, every-penny-back refund plus $1 extra for a pack of cigarettes! *My treat!*

OK. I know exactly what's running through your mind. Even with my fool-proof, risk-free, money-back plus guarantee, you're still looking for a way to get out of sending for my secret. You can't fool me. It's not the money. You'll pocket 100 times your investment in cigarette savings alone. The bottom line is this: You really don't want to quit–*and you'll do anything to avoid it.*

But just this once, listen to that little voice inside your head. Just this once give in to your common sense and give my secret a "look." Watch it automatically work for you in the only way that counts. Permanent no smoking! *Or your next pack's on me!*

Stop Smoking Co.
8 West 36th St.
New York, N.Y. 10018

Stop Smoking Co.
8 West 36th St.
New York, N.Y. 10018

OK–I'll take a risk-free look. Here's my $10. Rush the "Stop Smoking Secret." If I ever start smoking again, I can return it for $11 refund. (That's $10 back plus $1 extra for a pack of cigarettes–*GUARANTEED!)*

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War of the Clerks

WILLIAM McGURN

IN THE THICK of the war in the Persian Gulf, a young woman interrupted a homily by John Cardinal O'Connor by shouting: "There is no just war! You and the American bishops are guilty of this war." Police removed the woman, and all eyes in the packed cathedral turned to the cardinal. "She is right," said a visibly shaken O'Connor before resuming where he had left off.

Just War and the Gulf War, by James Turner Johnson and George Weigel (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 169 pp., $16.95)

But she wasn't right. That her position was publicly ratified by one of the most orthodox American bishops (and a retired Navy admiral to boot) says much about the sorry state of Christian leadership on matters of moral import to the nation. The authors of *Just War and the Gulf War* apply traditional just-war criteria to last year's conflict in Iraq and come up with two broad conclusions: first, that both the decision to resort to force and the subsequent use of that force in response to Iraqi aggression fell well within the bounds of international law and classical moral teaching; second, that the formal authorities of the mainline Protestant churches as well as the Catholic Church provided no guidance for American political leaders genuinely seeking help in making these morally fraught decisions.

In the first half of this slim volume, America's foremost just-war theorist, James Turner Johnson, sets out the broad terms of the tradition before applying them to Iraq. In most people's minds, the idea of a "just war" has about it the unfortunate aura of a morally sanctioned crusade. Johnson thus is at pains to explain that in fact just war is primarily about limits: limits on the legitimate reasons for the resort to arms (*jus ad bellum*) and limits on the ways force can be used once fighting has begun (*jus in bello*). Far from an exact calculus that spits out neat answers, the just-war tradition promises only to ask the right questions. Indeed, except for outright pacifism—which holds that no use of force is ever justified—the just-war tradition is the only code of moral reasoning we have to judge a war.

To his credit George Bush invoked precisely these criteria in his important January 28, 1991, address to the annual convention of National Religious Broadcasters. True, he mispronounced "Aquinas," but he did go through all the questions Turner discusses here in greater detail: right intention (the liberation of Kuwait); competent authority (the UN Security Council, the allied Arab nations, the U.S. Congress); last resort (the war commenced only after failed peace missions by both U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar). Turner also notes that in his actual conduct of the war, Bush adhered to the other pillar of the tradition: discrimination (non-targeting of Iraqi civilians) and proportion (the use of just enough force to accomplish the job).

That's more than what most churchmen could bring themselves to do. Cardinal O'Connor's misleading comment pales next to other clerics' mischief. Richmond's Bishop Walter Sullivan, whose diocese includes the largest naval base on the East Coast and several other military installations, called on American servicemen to disobey orders. United Methodist Bishop Melvin Talbert of San Francisco labeled President Bush "the real aggressor" in the Gulf long before the first shots were fired. The National Council of Churches' much publicized "Church Leaders Peace Pilgrimage to the Middle East," staged just before Christmas, referred to any U.S. use of force as "politically and morally indefensible." The sum of these statements, sermons, and declarations oddly vindicates the Second Vatican Council's assessment that "on the national and international planes the field of the apostolates is vast; and it is there that the laity more than others are channels of Christian wisdom."

Not that Weigel and Johnson were looking for bishops to bless bombs. Indeed, Weigel properly suggests that even a forthright pacifist critique would have added something to the debate. Instead the clerics discussed the issue with the unstated assumption that war began or would begin with the U.S. intervention rather than

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with Saddam Hussein's original invasion of Kuwait. And they fudged the issue by using just-war criteria in a way that was "functionally pacifist," i.e., casting doubt on the illegitimacy of any resort to arms. In short, what the authors seem to be getting at (but are too polite to say) is that too many of our church leaders are simply damned dishonest partisans.

The resulting degeneracy of the debate is healthy for neither church nor state. Mind you, there are plenty of good arguments that the war was not prudent, and I'm afraid that President Bush's conclusion of the war only confirms these sentiments. But the churches were arguing something more, that Mr. Bush's use of American force was ipso facto immoral, a judgment that has not been revised in the light of what we now know about Iraq's brutal occupation of Kuwait, its vicious suppression of the Kurds, and its launching of missiles on innocent Israelis and Saudis. "Iraq was an easy case," notes Turner. "Most instances are fraught with much more ambiguity." If the churches can be so far off base on the relatively easy questions, what does this say about their reliability on the tough ones? □

Fooling with Words

HENRY MITCHELL

YOU can read on the dust-jacket that *The Art of Persuasion* "will sweep literate America," but I hope the press run exceeds the five thousand or so copies that would take. I would say I find the book glorious, except that on page 87 we are warned severely against hyperbole:

The Art of Persuasion: A National Review Rhetoric for Writers, by Linda Bridges and William F. Rickenbacker (National Review Books, 134 pp., $19.95)

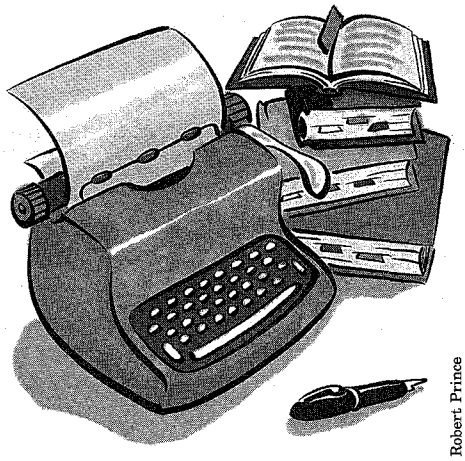
yet I hesitate to use the correct word, "frisky," for fear the sober steady liberal reader will dismiss it as so much conservative joking.

The book is dead serious, or live serious, which is better. The temptation is to start right in on snippets of dandy information quite new: how many know that Abraham Lincoln, great President and founder of the Republican Party, owed so much of his posthumous fame to his mastery of isocolonics?

Despite its title, the 134 pages comprise a little world of plain wisdom which, if duly attended and inwardly digested by the young (there being so little hope for the old), will raise the height of common American prose to tolerable levels and at the least will spare generations to come the colorless babble of our day. Cancer kills its millions, but dreary drear its tens of millions and nothing said.

You well know there can be no revolutions without breaking eggs. There is a slight downside, a Cromwellian wart, a cracked egg or two to be endured manfully by the reader of this guide to pleasant writing.

Rightly it points to the Scylla of dullness and the Charybdis of failed metaphors that so to speak o'erleap themselves and fall on t'other. Then (unfortunately not cited as an example



Robert Prince

of the latter) the authors speak of new verbs "hatched out of his [Shakespeare's] teeming loin." Shakespeare lacked teeming loins. Heart and brains, supremely, but loins is not where his verbs came from, even metaphorically, and especially not metaphorically if one visualizes (as the authors recommend) the usual products of loins, standing, sitting, or lying.

Mr. Mitchell is a veteran columnist and editor with the Washington Post.

The only enemy left is us . . .

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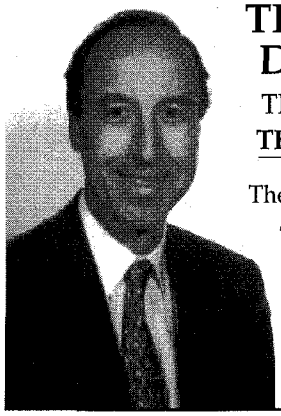

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How often does the writer fear (to get on past loins) speaking his heart and humor lest he be mocked or taken for one who trifles with solemn things. The authors insist, demand, that the writer be open, withholding nothing (except, of course, a little) for as Red Smith says in one of the star-strewn quotations in the text, writing is simple enough, you just sit down and open a vein. And the alert writer will infer (as the reader instantly spots) that unless the vein be open the healing waters will not issue.

Just here you will notice the authors go a bit far in nudging writers to "floorboard it." The language is so rich the writer should "go for it" with every resource he can think of. And surely this is sound advice up to a point. But are there not writers who have hit the gas recklessly, with results of notable infelicity?

I wish there had been a paragraph or two about the saving talisman every writer must carry about, as an albatross and an oriflamme—duty. My God, you'd think NATIONAL REVIEW of all publishers would sneak in a little sermon somewhere about What Is Owed. For much is, in exchange for the seized license to sound off that every writer begins with.

If it is not a kind of giving, then why bother? Who would suffer the brickbats of the (cruel and idiot) reader, the

RIGHT BOOKS

■ BURKE VINDICATED: Though within historical time there never was a golden age and people have always been sinners, the Western—and thus the worldwide—time of troubles commenced in earnest, in politicized form, in 1789, and then moved into high gear 125 years later, in 1914. In a postscript twenty years ago to the Russian-language edition, published abroad, of *August 1914*, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote: "This book cannot be published now in our motherland except in 'samizdat' [underground, clandestine form] because of censorship for reasons which are inconceivable to the normal human mind, and were it for no other reason, because it would be necessary to write the word God in lower case." As David Walsh has recently pointed out in *After Ideology*, Solzhenitsyn's piety, courage, and politics are very Burkean.

The atheistic Jacobin–Marxist tradition is now in ruins, but it nearly expunged sanity and decency—"the normal human mind"—in all those countries over which it held sway in the twentieth century. That the so-called "Enlightenment" would lead to waves and varieties of revolution and war was foreseen by Burke in 1790. He was pessimistic about the future, maintaining the Christian virtue of hope but not the ersatz, secular brand of optimism. "If a new order is coming on," Burke wrote in 1791, as more and more people were intoxicated by the progressive alcohol of French utopian revolutionism, "and all the political opinions must pass away as dreams, which our ancestors would have worshipped as revelations, I say for [myself], that [I] would rather be the last of that race of men, than the first and greatest" of the figures of the new order.

Mr. Aeschliman is a lecturer in English literature at the University of Virginia.

Burke has always had distinguished admirers and commentators, including in our century Winston Churchill, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Russell Kirk: sages and friends of God and man. But no one has more carefully and judiciously discussed the varied aspects of Burke's profound social and moral imagination than Peter J. Stanlis. His *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*, originally published in 1958 and recently reissued in a new edition by Huntington House, conclusively demonstrated Burke's fidelity to the orthodox, theistic Natural Law tradition, which Burke's great friend Samuel Johnson succinctly identified as the belief that "he that thinks reasonably must think morally." In fact, Russell Kirk has argued that "from Edmund Burke and Samuel Johnson more can be learned than from any other writers of the modern era." This is a shockingly unfashionable claim, but I think a true one. As Stanlis shows, the "Enlightenment" is the fountainhead of the heresies, fanaticisms, and fads that have plagued the intervening two centuries and laid waste to so many of the labors of ages of civilized behavior and imaginative genius. Johnson and Burke saw at the time that the French Enlightenment's secular faith in an inevitable collective progress was a lethal delusion.

The "Enlightenment" led to revolution, again and again. Its rootless and mocking, or ideological and fanatical, rationalisms corrode the foundations of the moral Natural Law which from Antigone and the Old Testament onward have provided the ballast and momentum of Western Civilization. In *Edmund Burke: The Enlightenment and Revolution* (Transaction, 259 pp., $34.95) Peter Stanlis discusses, patiently and in precise scholarly detail, "Burke and the Moral Natural Law," "Burke and the Rationalism of the Enlightenment," and "Burke and the Sensibility of Rousseau," and for these essays alone his book deserves the closest reading. By contrast, our tenured, home-grown radicals have been sophisticated by those "masters of suspicion," Marx, Darwin, Nietzsche, and Freud, and propagate hybrid varieties of their heresies with all the fervor of moral inversion. They must keep talking and scribbling by reference to these lurid "Enlighteners" in order to keep students and readers from realizing the massive fact that in the historical liberation of 1989–1991 Edmund Burke has been vindicated, in John Morley's words, as "the greatest master of civil wisdom in our language."

Defending his long campaign against the British colonial depredations of Warren Hastings in India—the activity of which he was proudest, although it was in the short term unsuccessful—Burke wrote hauntingly against ethnocentrism, relativism, and racism, and in favor of the orthodox Natural Law belief that every human person is *res sacra homo* because made in the image of God: "I have no party in this business, my dear Miss Palmer, but among a set of people who have none of your lilies and roses in their faces; but who are the images of the great Pattern as well as you and I. I know what I am doing; whether the white people like it or not" (Letter of January 19, 1786).

This sane and saintly voice has done more for human civilization than all the over-educated Darwinians, Marxists, Freudians, and deconstructionist epigones of Nietzsche who ever lived, or ever will. Burke's writings will last as long as Western Civilization itself, of which they are among the firmest supports and finest flowers. "*Magna est veritas, et praevalet.*"

—M. D. AESCHLIMAN

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slurs of the great, if it were not for the occasional tide of pleasure reserved for those who suffer, suffer, for righteousness' sake? Otherwise, why fool with words, so hazardous and sweet? To tangle with whatzername's hair, or else sell Chryslers and when you fall on your butt just hand the bill to the taxpayer. The next (of many, I hope) edition of this book should tart itself up a bit with exhortations to virtue rather than "and when you publish that best seller, will you send us a note of thanks?"

We should not, however, ingeminate small reservations about floorboarding, etc., nor seem to forgive the book's sins more than those sins are, for on balance this is unquestionably the best breviary on writing that exists. Or that one has run across, which surely is the same thing. Too many such efforts are enough to curl one's teeth, and by the way I never believed E. B. White had anything to do with that tiresome book he is said to have worked on with Mr. Strunk. No good at all.

The Art of Persuasion, on the contrary, has so many fine things to say about speed, technical devices, bold assaults of the best sort, that I would not be without it. It is moreover the perfect size to split the pocket of a London Fog raincoat after three weeks.

To comment on a book about good writing lays the commenter open to such snidery by readers ("If the book is so hot, how come he never learned anything from it?") that only a foolish innocent writer would attempt it, and it may be no accident that NATIONAL REVIEW, with the sly cunning of all publishers, should foist the job off on a known knee-jerk liberal, thus ensuring his further discredit.

But we are taught by the book not to think such thoughts, but to ply our trade boldly, as if we were fit for it (and in America today, who the hell would know?), proceeding in an upwardly direction, as a cop would say, cautious of our zeugmas as we ascend. And looking down upon earthlings cry blessings on Bridges and Rickenbacker, authors of the work. And so reasonably priced, too. □

DELECTATIONS

Steal This Story

TAKI

A FEW YEARS ago, the gifted Frank Johnson wrote a story in the *Sunday Telegraph* concerning the boorish behavior of Princess Michael of Kent while on a flight from Los Angeles to London. No sooner had I read it, I was faxing him the following message: "Your column is to be published next week in *Fame*—congratulations! Under my byline—hard luck."

I simply could not resist the story. It was a gossipy item, and for a writer like me, gossip is desirable, but second-hand gossip (which his story was) is essential. So, just to give you an example of Johnson's stuff, here's the item. It seems the princess, known in Blighty as the pushiest person since Sisyphus, demanded that the seat next to her be kept vacant. The trouble was the seat was already occupied by a certain Lady Olivier (a/k/a Joan Plowright), wife of Laurence Olivier, and a very well known actress in her own right.

Their egos clashing like cymbals, neither lady would move. The princess got louder and louder, and finally the captain warned her that he would put her off the flight. Oh yes, I almost forgot. There were no other available seats on first class, and Princess Michael was in effect demanding that Lady Olivier be moved back with the plebs. It was too good a story not to publish third hand, and to hell with fact checking.

Then there is the gossipy book. Last winter, while in hot pursuit of a blonde who wouldn't give me the time of day, I decided that a change of climate was just the ticket. I flew her to Barbados, but for the first three days she kept her nose buried in a rather bulky paperback. In moments such as those, it is essential to knock the book,

Taki Theodoracopulos, who writes the "High Life" column for The Spectator *in London, is the author of* Nothing to Declare *(Atlantic Monthly Press).*

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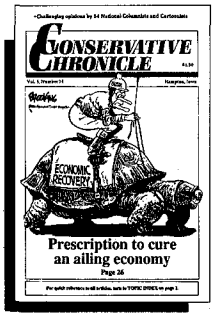

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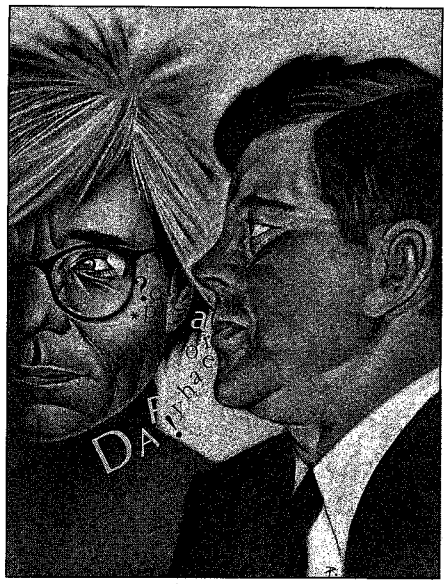
even if it's *Le Rouge et le Noir*. In her case, it was the biography of that arch gossip himself, Andy Warhol, written by his one-time amanuensis, Bob Colacello. "How can you read that kind of thing?" was my complaint, along with others.

But as things turned out, I was wrong. Once she finished it, I took a brief glimpse at it, and it was the start of a beautiful friendship. The opus was one long gossip. Most of it cannot be repeated in an elegant publication such as *NR*, but suffice it to say that I forgot about the girl while immersing myself in a world of drugs, drink, and all-round debauchery that would have made Lord Byron blush.

Colacello knew all the secrets of the underground world of Warhol, and he held back little. Whether it was true mattered not a lot. The book was lively, amusing, alluring, and very, very wicked. When I was through, I felt I knew Warhol, and a terrible man he was. But the book also defined the age, a period where money became more important than manners, and celebrity replaced achievement.

Which brings me to the importance



Chang Park

of gossip. There are two kinds: the puerile kind, which is time-wasting by half-wits, and the other, which informs and helps to define the age. Much of what we know about medieval history is sheer gossip. For instance, King John of England is known to us as Bad King John because of the insane prejudices of a couple of monk chroniclers—for no other reason and certainly with no proof. Our knowledge of Charlemagne is based on hearsay, as is evident in the Einhard biography of him. This also applies to my own country's mythology. Homer's poems about the Trojan War and Ulysses' wanderings could not have survived without the impulse to pass on a good story.

But what about academic history? you may well ask. In my not so humble opinion, it would be dry as dust if it neglected the intimate moments. Without those glimpses into private lives, history is dull as well as intellectually dishonest. The serious argument is this: Can a historian write the life of Frederick the Great, for example, without Voltaire's letters about him—letters full of catty, bitchy, witty remarks? I say no. As a historian one cannot. As a bore one can.

When I read history, I always find that it's the gossip that gives the flavor—and often the substance—of who people were and what life was like. In fact, one cannot build a character without gossip, public accomplishments being simply not enough. If they were, we'd have passport-like descriptions, and *c'est tout*.

The telling, intimate glimpses of the JFK White House written by insiders gave some hints of the hanky-panky that went on, but it took the gossips a generation later to reveal the flaws of America's royal family. Without the gossip, Ted Kennedy would be one of the most respected senators of his day; although even without it, his friend Christopher Dodd would not. (When Dodd was dating a ferocious female Sandinista, it was said that although liberals had often been accused of being infiltrated by Communists, this was the first time it was occurring the other way round.)

Needless to say, gossip can also be extremely destructive. *Private Eye*, the satirical gossip sheet read by every Englishman who counts, has ruined more lives than Ted Kennedy has had hangovers. Despite its allure, its unrelenting concern with sex and money oversteps the bounds of decency, but I guess that is the price one pays for freedom of expression. Mind you, the gossips knew all about the dreadful Robert Maxwell's plundering of pension funds, but British libel laws prevented them from exposing the porker.

Many serious people love gossip. When I once sat next to A. L. Rowse, the greatest expert on Shakespeare

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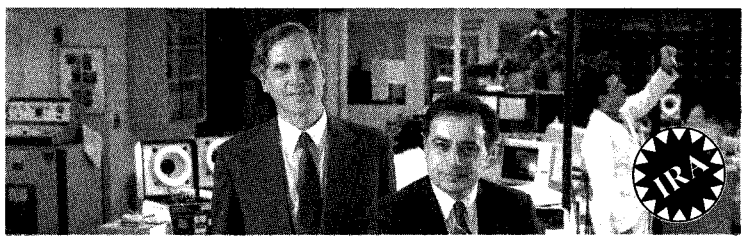

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(Joe Sobran excluded), the only thing he wished to know about was Annabel's (a London nightclub), and whether so and so was sleeping with so and so.

Gianni Agnelli, the charismatic Fiat CEO, starts his day with nothing but gossip. "*Dimmi tutto*" (Tell me all!), he cries over the telephone every day as soon as he wakes up. He passes on as much as he takes in. But it's only harmless stuff, meant more to laugh at than to bruise.

Flying back from St. Moritz in his private jet a couple of years ago, Susan Gutfreund, the wife of the ejected Salomon Brothers CEO, and a one-time airline hostess, imperiously asked a lady friend of mine to get her a drink. "I believe you're better equipped to fetch drinks while in the air than I am," came the answer. And that little bitty had the jetset laughing for a whole week. See what I mean about gossip? It can even get a rise out of that particular set. □

FILM

Demolition Jobs

JOHN SIMON

ADAPTATIONS have always been one of the great problems of the cinema. Can a novel, a story, a play be successfully adapted to the screen? Of course, when the movies were young and called photoplays, many of them were just that: photographed plays or novels, and horrible. But the cinema became more technically advanced and sophisticated, hiring better writers to adapt other people's or their own fiction and drama, and the results were an improvement. Not much better most of the time, but enough to enable people to say, "No, I haven't read the book, but I saw the movie." And it took smart people, behind or in front of the screen, a long time to realize that, in the case of great books and plays, seeing the movie meant nothing.

Many years ago, I posited something that a fellow critic dubbed Simon's Law (which, to be sure, applies rather more to stage adaptations): If it is worth doing, it can't be done; if it can be done, it wasn't worth doing. The reason a great play or fiction cannot be properly adapted to the screen is that form is content. Can you imagine any great sonnet that could have done as well as a sestina or villanelle? Even less conceivable than transposition from one poetic form to another is transferral into another genre, prose. Similarly, what was envisioned and embodied as a novel or novella cannot be recast as a play or movie. Not if it is a true work of art, that is. A lesser novel might make a good movie—might even improve as one.

But the lure of turning a classic novel into a film is enormous. To the hack director it means riches and prestige: all those non-readers who have heard so much about *Moby-Dick* and *The Brothers Karamazov* will simply have to see the picture, and bring you cash and cachet. For the good but deluded director the challenge is equally great: "They said you cannot make a movie out of *Faust* or *Middlemarch*; well, I'll show them!" And they end up, with few exceptions, with a noble flop, artistic and commercial.

Some very good directors have been thus seduced, and a couple even beat the odds. So, along with the rare exceptions, we get all those mangled masterpieces and near-masterpieces, which also bleed. Indeed, there are those deplorable bunglers who make a point of rushing in where angels fear to tread, and who have made, by their very dishonesty or deludedness, careers out of vulgarizations. Two or three good examples are currently available. I say two or three because, whereas Volker Schlöndorff is definitely one, I don't know whether the producer–director team of Ismail Merchant and James Ivory should be counted as one or two. In any case, between the two or three of them, Schlöndorff and Merchant–Ivory have done in more masterworks than anyone else in cinematic history.

Volker Schlöndorff, either alone or in collaboration with his now ex-wife Margarethe von Trotta, gave the needle to such masterpieces as Robert

Mr. Simon, NR*'s film critic, is also theater critic for* New York *magazine.*

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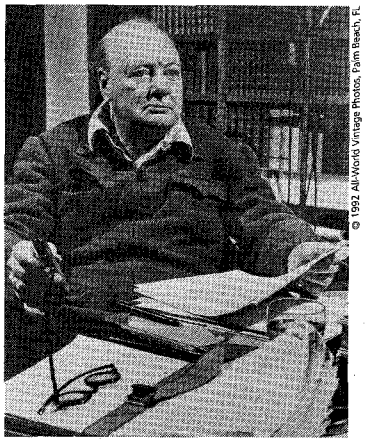

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Musil's *Young Törless*, Heinrich von Kleist's *Michael Kohlhaas* (even the casting of David Warner and Anna Karina was a dead giveaway), Heinrich Böll's *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum* (though here, the novel being less good, the film was less shameful), Marguerite Yourcenar's *Coup de Grâce*, Günter Grass's *The Tin Drum*, and Marcel Proust's *Swann's* (now *Ugly Duckling's*) *Way*.

Here he gives us his version of Max Frisch's 1957 novel, *Homo faber*, which, under the title ***Voyager***, is yet another travesty. This despite the fact that the Swiss author collaborated on the film up to his death, which, alas, prevented him from keeping close tabs on the later phases. *Homo faber* is not a masterpiece, even though Frisch was a very considerable literary figure; but Schlöndorff, in his characteristic hack manner, overlooks almost everything other than the sensationalistic incest aspect: father and daughter, unaware of their kinship, becoming lovers. Yet although it is the motor that propels the novel, the incest motif is its least interesting aspect.

Homo faber means, of course, man the maker, the craftsman. But it is also a punning reference to the protagonist, Walter Faber, a Swiss engineer in the book. One of Frisch's main strategies is telling the story from the point of view of this technocrat, this man who has no use for the muses or the so-called finer things of life. To get inside such a mind is the task Frisch set himself, and also to put him through situations that try his soul and undermine his viability. At book's end, he is to be operated on for incurable cancer, even though he is reunited with the first woman he loved, the mother of the second one: his daughter by her, whom he planned to marry.

The novel is also about style or, with more technological terminology, texture, involving stylistic devices I need not itemize here. It is about a plane's forced landing in a Mexican desert; about being, subsequently, stranded in a dump on the edge of the Mexican jungle; about memories of an unproductive affair in New York City, where Faber also lived; about the romance with young Sabeth that begins on a steamer crossing the Atlantic and continues in a car rolling through France and Italy, to end with two deaths in an Athens hospital. Throughout, there is Faber's matter-of-fact mind assessing everything from his youthful love for Hanna, Sabeth's mother, to his doubly doomed love for Sabeth. But in a movie that was to have interior monologue running through it, what sane person would have cast Sam Shepard as the hero-narrator?

One of the first, though still belated, things Schlöndorff realized was that Shepard could not handle profuse verbiage. There then had to be much rewriting—or unwriting—to allow Shepard's mere charismatic virility to carry the film. And it does—in the wrong direction. We no longer get a sense of what it is like to be confined to a subtropical jungle outpost, or to motor through France and Italy with an art enthusiast when you yourself have never set foot in a museum. We don't even get the feeling that Shepard and the French actress Julie Delpy are father and daughter (Sabeth, by the way, strikes me as a dreadful shortening of Elizabeth—some Old Testament heroine?) because Shepard just doesn't look like anybody's father. Except for a certain pastiness of face, Mlle Delpy is fine; as Hanna, the German actress Barbara Sukowa has trouble with the flashbacks to her youth.

There is now only one, badly staged, death in the end, unless you count the failure of the movie as the second. The mere idea of turning Faber, to accommodate Shepard, into an American, and thus an outsider by his very Americanness, is wrong; it deflects attention from the technocrat-humanist dichotomy. This blunts the few remaining bits of sharpness left unmarred by the director and his American scenarist, Rudy Wurlitzer.

■ Merchant and Ivory should have been ivory merchants, a field in which fakery thrives. Not to worry, though: they have made a phenomenal career out of peddling plastic as cinematic art, as their latest, ***Howards End***, triumphantly confirms. Let us recall that M & I, with their devoted screenwriter Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, have already laid waste Henry James's *The Europeans* and *The Bostonians*, and have similarly attacked two by E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View* and *Maurice* (not to mention a foray into Jane Austen). Though they successfully demolished *Room*, *Maurice*, Forster's sentimentalized fictionalization of his own homosexuality, had a tone congenial to the filmmakers, who, in

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Alan Nahigian

this instance, were also helped by the master cameraman Pierre Lhomme.

When they are not razing masterworks but addressing Indian matters, M & I do better. Merchant, after all, is Indian, as is the husband of Mrs. Jhabvala, who has lived in India and written about it. But with *Howards End*, the Merchant–Ivory–Jhabvala team is firmly back in Masterpiece Theatre, which is where their talent for subversion leaps to the fore.

I approached this film with benevolence, because I happened to like the trio's last venture, *Mr. and Mrs. Bridge*, based on two novels by Evan S. Connell, although even there the ending was a bathetic failure of nerve. With *Howards End*, however, it is business as usual, start to finish. When Forster's novel appeared in 1910, the *Saturday Review* (to quote P. N. Furbank's *E. M. Forster: A Life*) wrote that "to express his genius in using everyday speech to betray 'cunning shadowings' of personality, the term 'Forsterian' was now a necessity." Forster's Bloomsbury colleague, Virginia Woolf, writes more critically: "We are to notice this, take heed of that. Margaret or Helen, we are made to understand, is not speaking simply as herself; her words have another and a larger intention." So, Mrs. Woolf argues, we are repeatedly forced into "the twilight world of theory."

In the movie, we are also shoved into another world, though not one of subtle shadowings or larger, symbolic intention. No, it is a smaller, indeed diminutive, world of farce, of rather mechanistic, caricatural exaggeration. If I do not go into the plot, consider this my attempt to get you to read the novel, marvelous even if flawed, and to find out for yourselves just how far short, for all its superficial faithfulness, the movie falls.

The reductive technique can be demonstrated with the treatment of the famous passage near the beginning, where two of the principal characters are deeply affected by the Beethoven Fifth they hear at a concert. Forster's description both of the music and of its effect on the listeners is a justly famous purple patch in modern literature—perhaps even in music criticism. Granted this is hard, even impossible, to translate to the screen, surely better could have been found than having Simon Callow, in an uncredited cameo performance as a music-appreciation lecturer, whose mother plays illustrative passages on the piano, act smug and condescending to his audience. The scene does incorporate passages from Forster's text, but it reduces them to comic rubble.

There are fine British actors in the film, doing their level best to stem the leveling into farce; I feel especially for Anthony Hopkins and Emma Thompson. One thing, though, works: wonderful English landscapes and houses, flashily but still invitingly shot by Tony Pierce-Roberts, the M & I house photographer. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Anne Sexton: A Biography, by Diane Wood Middlebrook (Houghton Mifflin, 488 pp., $24.95)

THIS is not a book about a poet, but the story of—in the popular usage—a *dysfunctional family*. Just as well, since Anne Sexton's poetry is negligible, no matter how successfully she managed to use her considerable beauty and charm to enlist the marginal interest of the poetic establishment. Her biographer, a pedant as insensitive to poetry as to passion, seems well qualified to follow (usually to the point of boredom) the poet's quest for notoriety. One sentence nicely summarizes her thesis and style: "The psychoanalytic point of view, paradoxically, legitimized the return, in art, of exorbitant passions and a sense of destiny, understood as an economy of sublimation." But tired psychoanalysis is quite appropriate: such talent as Anne Sexton possessed was for self-analytical, autobiographical poetry. "My worst guilt," she wrote to her youngest daughter, "was that I made *you* to find *me*." She wrote her own autobiography as epitaph, this in a note to her psychiatrist: "I would like to lie down beside you and go to sleep, and you will never leave me because I am a good girl. But I can't have sex with you because I can't have sex with Nana. . . . I am going out of my mind, is there no place that is calm, a pool of milk. I want my mother, I hate my mother. Nana was safe. Nana was crazy. Daddy was drunk. I am a little bitch." Nana was the beloved great-aunt who went mad and attacked little Anne with a nail file. What a life. —SELDEN RODMAN

"The President Has Been Shot": Confusion, Disability, and the 25th Amendment in the Aftermath of the Attempted Assassination of Ronald Reagan, by Herbert L. Abrams (Norton, 363 pp., $22.95)

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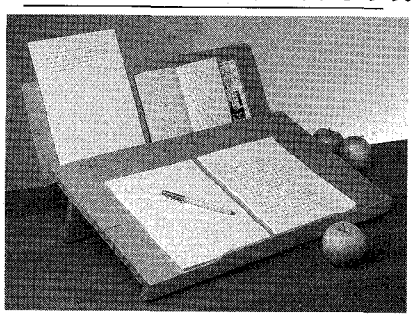

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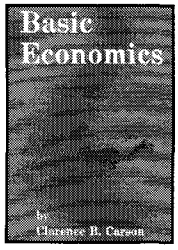

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of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution. Dr. Abrams concludes that, although the amendment was passed to deal with cases in which a President was incapacitated (but not killed) by injury or illness, in precisely such cases its invocation has been avoided so as not to heighten people's fears concerning the President's health. He reports that immediately after John Hinckley shot the President, Reagan aide (now arrogant presidential number cruncher) Richard Darman hid all the papers that would have been needed to invoke the amendment in a safe in his White House office. Dr. Abrams recounts the panic of Alexander "I'm in control" Haig and the efforts of Jim Baker and other top officials to take over the presidential duties, rather than relinquishing them to Vice President George Bush. He also offers evidence from doctors and from Nancy Reagan suggesting that there was far greater concern for the President's life than the public was led to believe at the time. Perhaps the book will rejuvenate an important amendment and prevent future Darmans and Bakers from pre-empting the constitutional authority of the Vice President.

—GEOFFREY MORRIS

Give War a Chance: Eyewitness Accounts of Mankind's Struggle against Tyranny, Injustice, and Alcohol-Free Beer, by P. J. O'Rourke (Atlantic Monthly Press, 233 pp., $20.95)

P. J. O'ROURKE made a big mistake in last year's best-selling, hilariously funny, *Parliament of Whores*: he labeled himself a humorist. By doing so, he became not a political commentator who is funny but rather someone who by definition must be funny and happens to talk politics—thus raising expectations for this collection of essays and book reviews from the Eighties. The reader has to trudge through some ho-hum stuff before he comes to the doozies—the ones he bought the book for. O'Rourke remains his cutesy self: he explains that his title at *Rolling Stone* is Foreign Affairs Desk Chief only because "Middle-Aged Drunk didn't look good on business cards." Both his virtue and his vice is his way of explaining the most complicated subjects in the simplest of terms: "Until 1918 the Arabian peninsula was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, so called because it had the same amount of intelligence and energy as a footstool." He expresses hefty and sharp truths simply and originally, but he has become so much a part of his own writing, of his own free-expressive style, that he's constrained to conform with it and make it funny. Which is why Atlantic Monthly is able to publish this out-of-date material for the simple pleasure of an O'Rourke smorgasbord.

—GEOFFREY MORRIS

COYNE

(Continued from page 27)

run because of Alan Dixon's support of Clarence Thomas. That issue was not stressed in the primary, but radical feminists say they intend to make the general-election campaign a rematch of the Hill–Thomas war.

Another incumbent falling, this one to great cheers, was Gus Savage, thumped by Mel Reynolds, a former Rhodes Scholar and a black believer in better race relations who would be well advised to stay away from dark alleys until the New Year. Reynolds, shot and wounded during the campaign, won largely thanks to redistricting, which brought South Suburban commuters into Savage's district.

As for the check-kiting scandal, the only casualty here was Representative Charles Hayes, who told his constituents that his overdrafts didn't hurt a single child. Hayes was defeated by Bobby Rush, thus ensuring that Chicago will send our nation's very first ex–Black Panther representative to Congress.

And finally there was the big incumbent himself. Perhaps it was because his polls in Illinois and Michigan were so strong, or perhaps he knows something about that other high-heeled shoe. But whatever the reasons, in appearances in Chicago before the Polish Alliance and other groups, George Bush seemed unusually relaxed and confident.

Especially among the ethnic groups here, there is genuine affection for the President, who is seen as the keeper of the Nixon–Reagan legacy that led to the liberation of Eastern Europe. At the Polish Alliance dinner, he was introduced as "the world's number-one freedom-fighter." And as the man who was once his and Mr. Buchanan's boss reminded them both recently, that's a designation to cherish. □

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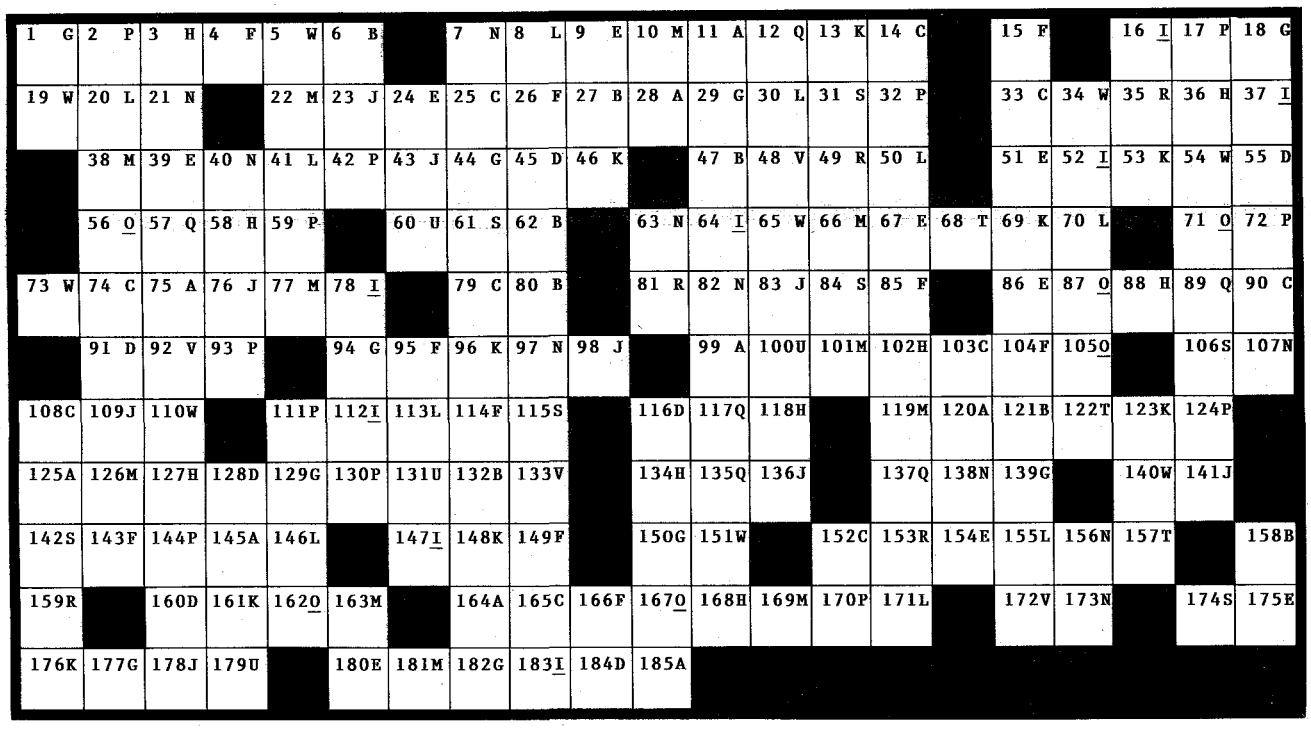
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Florida seaside resort (2 words) — 99 28 75 185 125 11 120 145 164

B. Colorful firefly of song — 6 47 158 62 132 80 27 121

C. Office item—or bouncy rock group — 103 108 33 74 25 90 152 165 79 14

D. Last name in photographic equipment — 55 116 184 160 91 128 45

E. Soil-loving annelid — 175 154 67 24 9 51 86 180 39

F. English city known for its sheriff — 166 95 104 85 4 149 26 143 15 114

G. Member of Hitler's *Schutzstaffel* — 150 139 44 182 129 94 1 177 18 29

H. Made clear — 127 3 168 88 102 134 36 58 118

I. Hard way to catch striped bass — 112 64 147 37 16 183 78 52

J. Kneel to the heavenly King — 109 98 23 83 141 178 76 43 136

K. Musical Tennessee city — 69 148 46 161 176 53 123 96 13

L. School subject — 20 41 113 70 146 155 50 171 30 8

M. Positive — 38 119 66 22 126 77 181 163 10 101 169

N. Highway interchange design — 63 138 82 97 156 107 21 40 7 173

O. *Harvard Lampoon* specialty — 71 162 87 56 167 105

P. Personal characteristic — 144 130 42 17 170 124 32 111 72 2 59 93

Q. Catholic devotional — 117 135 12 89 57 137

R. Hard metallic sound — 81 153 35 159 49

S. Colorful conifer — 84 115 174 142 61 31 106

T. Bachelor's last words — 122 157 68

U. Presently — 179 131 100 60

V. College in New Rochelle, N.Y. — 48 172 133 92

W. Sleepy — 110 140 19 65 73 34 151 5 54

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 60 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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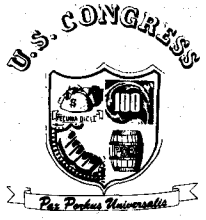

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Live and Let Live

NEW YORK, MARCH 11

It being the season to be merry at the expense of George Bush, he is now being attacked as an ersatz Texan. Texas columnist-comedienne Molly Ivins put it this way: "There are certain minimal standards for citizenship—real Texans do not use the word *summer* as a verb. Real Texans do not wear blue slacks with little green whales all over them. And real Texans never refer to trouble as 'deep doo-doo.'" If Pat Buchanan, mutatis mutandis, had done the same kind of thing to, say, first-generation Americans ("Real Americans don't a-put a vowel inna-fronta every word"), he'd have been in deep doo-doo with the Italian-American Anti-Defamation League and, I suspect, even with the governor of Texas, who charged at the last Democratic convention that George Bush was born with a silver foot in his mouth.

The cultural point is one thing. It is probably as true that someone raised in Connecticut doesn't sound entirely natural when attending a barbecue in Texas as it is that a Texan doesn't melt in with the furniture at the Metropolitan Club in New York. So? So what? It is the distinctive stamp of America that people from every corner of the country can and do move to opposite corners of the country, or perhaps stop and take root halfway, and whatever the residual cultural or linguistic incongruities, they become legitimately a resident of their new state, as Michiganite Tom Dewey became a New Yorker, or Midwesterner Ronald Reagan a Californian.

The critics then amuse themselves by citing Bush's homelessness in the state of Texas. The story is as follows:

Nobody denies that, in 1948, George Bush left Connecticut and went to Odessa, Texas, to begin a career in the oil business.

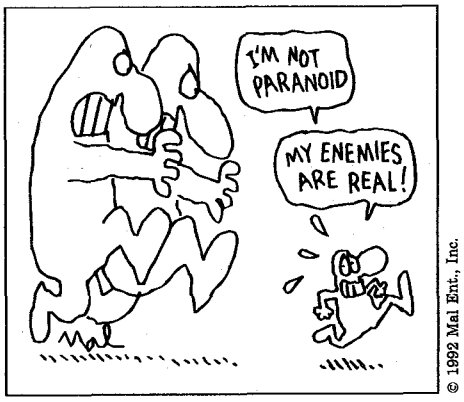
In 1967, he was elected to Congress from Texas. After his defeat four years later for the Senate, he was successively our ambassador to the United Nations, head of the Republican Party, head of CIA, and ambassador to China. Throughout that period he maintained his five-bedroom house in Houston.

In 1981 he was sworn in as Vice President. This was the 14th year his professional duties kept him from prolonged residence in Texas, so he resolved to buy (from his aunt) a large summer house in Maine. Why Maine? Well, who in search of a summer place goes to Texas?

Now contrary to widespread misinformation, George Bush is not (certainly by Texan standards) a very wealthy man. In order to buy his house in Maine, he sold his house in Houston, so long untenanted in any serious way because of his prolonged absences.

At that point he put in to become a Maine resident, defined here as having his principal residence in Maine. This would have allowed him, under the Internal Revenue code, to apply the substantial capital gains on his Houston house to the Maine house. But oh no, ruled the IRS in 1984, Maine wasn't his principal residence, Washington was.

Okay, so if Washington was his principal residence, then Maine was not, and he need not pay Maine income taxes. So Mr. Bush decided he would hang on to his 36-year-old Texan citizenship. To do that, all he needed was an address in Texas (he chose a hotel in Houston) and a letter to the Texas state comptroller declaring his intention to make Texas his principal residence when he retired. Texas has no income taxes, and is entirely willing to declare you a citizen of Texas if you furnish such an affidavit of intention, which is certainly plausible when filed by a man who lived there most of his adult life and was elected to Congress by Texans who weren't at all put off by his accent or by his blue slacks with little green whales.



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With the result that Mr. Bush paid no state income tax to Maine. No less august a body than the IRS had declared that he was not a legitimate resident of Maine, and the law, which was enacted way before George Bush had anything to do with legislation, is to the effect that anybody who lives in D.C. a) who is President or Vice President or b) who is a senator or representative, or c) whose job required Senate confirmation, and d) who maintains a residence elsewhere, is not subject to D.C. taxes. . . . So what do the Democrats want Bush to do? Make a gift to Maine of the $30,000 in taxes he would need to pay if he were a resident there? Or a similar gift to the District of Columbia, for the hell of it? Well, he gives more than twice that sum to charities. So . . . get mad at George Bush because he hasn't done enough about ozone or AIDS or Saddam Hussein, but retire this one, okay, Molly? □

Bundles For Moscow?

NEW YORK, MARCH 6

The polls insist that the American people are against foreign aid on the grounds that charity begins at home. This is a cliché bursting to be released from its synthetic bloat. a) The American people are not opposed to anything that relates to the national security, and b) the crisis we face in Russia calls not for charity but for prophylactic intervention. If Yeltsin fails, the alternatives won't be confined to the old USSR. The kind of grand-scale despotism to which the Russians might turn is one whose horizons would be the entire world. Why else preside over 12,000 nuclear missiles? And a destitute Russia, unconvinced that it can earn its way in the world, would be disposed to alternative action: imperialism. Imperialism didn't turn out to be the last stage of capitalism, but it may prove to be the last stage of Communism.

Richard Nixon, who continues to survey with sibylline flair the deeds and misdeeds of the world, has a stark paragraph in a letter addressed to his friends. "If a new despotism prevails, everything gained in the great peaceful revolution of 1991 will be lost. War could break out in the former Soviet Union as the new despots use force to restore the 'historical borders' of Russia. The new East European democracies would be imperiled. China's totalitarians would

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breathe a sigh of relief. The new Russian regime . . . would threaten our interests in hot spots around the world. It would sell conventional weapons, ballistic missiles, and nuclear technology to any buyer. A new Russian despotism inspired by imperial nationalism shorn of the baggage of the dying faith of Communism would be even more dangerous than Soviet totalitarianism."

There are those of us who gag a little over that last thought; yet, as we look back on it, those who always maintained that the Soviet Union was everything except reckless were correct—if we exclude the October 1962 crisis. A rogue despotism tends to be foolhardier than a disciplined imperial enterprise, which the Soviets' was.

So why doesn't President Bush come forward and declare flatly that the United States has an enormous historical stake in Yeltsin's success? What we have done so far is sheer tokenism. If the sum total of what we have spent or committed ourselves to spend on Russia had been offered to Egypt a year ago as a reward for its cooperation in Desert Storm, Mubarak would have brushed our offering back across the table, advising us that Egypt does not accept tips. We gave Egypt $7 billion; we have made a commitment to Russia on the order of $645 million, and we have promised two hundred Peace Corpsmen, which would be about right for Monaco—and that's about all.

Mr. Nixon's proposals:

1. Enough humanitarian aid, food, and medicine to see the Russians through the winter.

2. The formation of a "free enterprise corps that will send thousands of Western managers to Russia to infuse newly independent enterprises with free-market know-how."

3. A rescheduling of Soviet debt incurred during the Gorbachev era.

4. Subscription to an international pool "to provide tens of billions of dollars for currency stabilization through the IMF or other means as soon as Russia reins in the growth of its money supply."

What about the resistance of American voters? "The mark of great political leadership is not simply to support what is popular but to make what is unpopular popular if that serves America's national interest. In addition, what seems politically profitable in the short term may prove costly in the long term. The hot-button issue in the 1950s was, 'Who lost China?' If Yeltsin goes down, the question of 'Who lost Russia?' will be an infinitely more devastating issue in the 1990s."

And, then, the grand Nixonian laying on of hands: "President Bush is uniquely qualified to meet this challenge. The brilliant leadership he demonstrated in mobilizing the coalition abroad and the American people at home to win victory in the Persian Gulf War can ensure that the cold war will end not just with the defeat of Communism but also with the victory of freedom." □

Rosenthal-Think

NEW YORK, MARCH 9

On the question, "Should I vote for Pat Buchanan, given that he has said irresponsible things about minorities, Jews, and Israel?" there are those who answer, "Do not vote for him, because if you do, you are encouraging racism and anti-Semitism and your own integrity is forfeit." The avatar of this position is A. M. Rosenthal, the *New York Times* columnist who three times now has publicly castigated me for having said, before the New Hampshire primary, that were I a resident of that state I would vote for Pat Buchanan in order to communicate to President Bush the depth of my dissatisfaction with some of his policies. At the same time I recorded that if the vote were for the next President of the United States, I would vote for Bush, not for Buchanan.

Mr. Rosenthal reacts as if I (and others like me) had made a covert deal with the Ku Klux Klan ("They had better learn damned quick before they hear the bell tolling too close to their ears"). He is Rosenthal-mad not only at me but at every columnist who declined to make Buchanan's statements about Israel the center of their concern in New Hampshire; mad at all the Democratic candidates, none of whom held Buchanan's statements to be critical to the question at hand, namely, had Bush lost the confidence of many of those who voted for him four years ago? Derivatively, Mr. Rosenthal is mad at 37 per cent of the voters in New Hampshire and Georgia.

He does have this problem, namely that there aren't 15 Buchanan voters in either state who understand themselves to be saying anything at all on the subject of racism and anti-Semitism. The people who voted for Clinton didn't understand themselves to be underwriting adultery, and the people who voted for Bush didn't understand themselves to be endorsing his go-slow policies on the Ukraine, the Baltics, and Yeltsin. And surely those who did think that anti-Semitism was the principal question before the voters when Buchanan's name came around must have wondered why, in the six weeks preceding the primary, the *New York Times* devoted exactly one editorial to that subject.

There are cool thinkers in America who are on the alert to discourage anti-Semitism. Abe Rosenthal isn't one of them. His hotheadedness, his disposition to judge recklessly, sets his cause back. I once found myself saying to the late David Susskind, who at his most obnoxious was as obnoxious as any man could be, that the worst setback enlightened racial/religious relations had suffered in recent times was that David Susskind had been born Jewish. Rosenthal should guard against encouraging any such judgmental enormity. Democratic candidates for President, columnists, editors, voters are understandably astonished, then outraged, at the proposition that by declining to dwell on Buchanan & anti-Semitism, they betray an insensitivity to the question. "The NATIONAL REVIEW," Rosenthal now writes, "once the healthy pride of American conservative intellectualism, now is wan and pockmarked with the disease."

The statement is quite extraordinary, said about a magazine that in the past three months has published seventy thousand words probing the question of anti-Semitism and concluding, after a fastidious exploration, that indeed what Pat Buchanan had said a year ago was objectively anti-Semitic. If NATIONAL REVIEW's reputation is pockmarked, what about that of the *New York Times*? Or of Michael Kinsley and Robert Novak, to mention only two Jewish Americans who decline to join in Mr. Rosenthal's blood sport?

Abe Rosenthal imputes insensitivity to anti-Semitism on a McCarthyite scale. Buchanan's popular support, on the basis of the votes thus far compiled, projects to many millions. To reiterate my finding in the extensive analysis I published last December, "I find it impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against the charge that what he said during the period under examination amounted to anti-Semitism, whatever it was that drove him to say and do it: most probably, an iconoclastic temperament."

To have said something anti-Semitic does not necessarily justify the assumption that the person who said it is anti-Semitic. Even as to say something stupid does not justify assuming that the person who said it is stupid. It is Abe Rosenthal's good fortune that I shall be guided by that rule in my future dealings with my old friend. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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George, Be a Czar

DURING the 1988 presidential campaign a female reporter produced a unique take on the so-called gender gap. Women did not like George Bush, she said, because "he reminds them of their first husband."

I've never had a husband, so I must look elsewhere for the source of the intense antipathy he rouses in me. He reminds me of a boy I dated in college who wore one black shoe and one brown one and pretended to be surprised when someone noticed. He also tripped on purpose when entering restaurants, slid jauntily onto barstools and deliberately missed, and replied "Where?" when someone said "Hello."

The comparison is accurate as far as it goes, but I sense that America is saddled with someone much worse than my old beau. George Bush is increasingly coming to resemble Czar Alexander I (1801–1825), whose personality mystified the foremost figures of his age.

Napoleon: "I find that there is a piece missing in his character, but I cannot discover what it is."

Chateaubriand: "The Emperor of Russia has a strong soul and a weak character."

Metternich: "He is the Sphinx of the North."

Alexander's father was Catherine the Great's mad son, Paul, a flat-faced sadist who liked to boast, "No one can say I am led around by the nose because I don't have one."

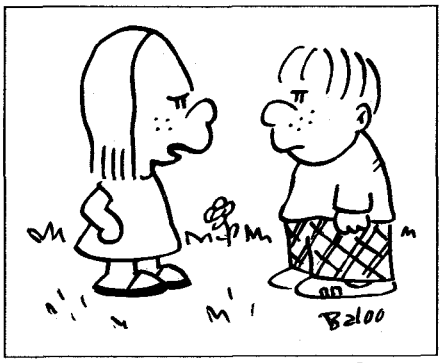
Catherine, the most doting of grandmothers, called Alexander her "deliciousissimus individual," declared that he had a "crystal soul," and hired two tutors to turn him into what she called an "enlightened despot." Frédéric de la Harpe, an idealistic liberal intellectual, was in charge of the enlightenment; a Cossack general with the blood-and-guts name of Saltykov was in charge of the despotism.

After Catherine's death, Paul's brief, brutal reign triggered a palace revolution, but Alexander, who by this time was accustomed to two opposing views of everything, could not make up his mind whether to join it. As the assassins closed in on his screaming father, Alexander sat on the edge of his bed trying to decide what to do.

He spent the rest of his life being all things to all men. Called upon to deal with some of Europe's most macho leaders, Alexander suffered attacks of inferiority in their presence, often displaying what seemed to be compulsive silliness, as when he asked Lord Grey to submit "a plan for the creation of an opposition in Russia." The astonished Grey replied: "If you really want to cause trouble for yourself, all you need do is set up a parliament."

When the question arose of what to do with the defeated Napoleon, Alexander was determined to be nice. Elba, he insisted, was far but not *too* far. When Napoleon subsequently escaped from Elba, a petulant Alexander whined to the Duke of Wellington: "Why did you let him escape?" The Iron Duke, not troubling to hide his contempt, snapped: "Why did you put him there?"

Possessing a handsome face but strangely curvaceous hips, Alexander was that rarity: a male tease. Preferring the chase to the prize, he flirted with the lubricious Queen Louise of Prussia, then panicked on realizing that she expected him to deliver, and locked his bedchamber door in case she came after him.



"It's not either a conspiracy theory —there is something called the Parent–Teacher Association!"

The most important woman in his life was Baroness Julie de Krudener, the Aimee Semple McPherson of the Bourbon restoration, who held salvation teas for the great in her Paris home. There, amid mystical hijinks and incoherent invocations, Alexander found God and dreamed up a kinder, gentler Realpolitik based on Christian love that he called the "Holy Alliance." Metternich called it "one of the periodic evolutions of the Czar's mind," and Castlereagh dismissed it as "sublime nonsense."

He didn't stay Saved for long. Returning to St. Petersburg, he fell under the influence of a reactionary nobleman named Arakcheyev and abandoned religion for autocratic repression. Next he decided, out of the blue, to move from the capital to a remote abandoned fort on the Sea of Azov called Taganrog, where he hurled himself into the task of hanging curtains, laying carpets, and turning the bleak redoubt into a home.

THERE IS NO telling what he would have done next, but soon after moving to Taganrog he died—at least we think he did. Rumors arose that he ran off to Siberia and became a holy man, and that the body of a soldier who resembled him was used in the funeral. It is a tribute to his unquenchable feyness that Alexander the Tease lured three governments into opening his coffin to see if he was in it. His nephew, Alexander II, went first, and allegedly transferred to a common grave the unroyal remains he found. Next, Alexander III took a peek, and finally, the Soviets. Both said the coffin was empty.

Alexander's most recent biographer, Henri Troyat, wrote:

> He smiled at everyone, shared the most contradictory opinions with equal graciousness, flattered people he would have liked to slap in the face. . . . The instability of his mood was almost pathological. He acted only on nervous impulse, passing from enthusiasm to prostration, from openness to trickery, from superficial pleasures to profound meditation.

Except for the last, it's George Bush. Russia and America share the dubious honor of having produced the ultimate anomaly: a nerve-wracking Sphinx.

—FLORENCE KING

Miss King's With Charity Toward None *has just been published by St. Martin's Press.*

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